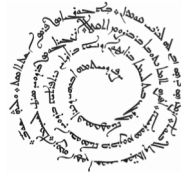


Greek Tradition and Latin Influence in the Work of George Scholarios



Perspectives on Philosophy and Religious Thought

12

Perspectives on Philosophy and Religious Thought (formerly Gorgias Studies in Philosophy and Theology) provides a forum for original scholarship on theological and philosophical issues, promoting dialogue between the wide-ranging fields of religious and logical thought. This series includes studies on both the interaction between different theistic or philosophical traditions and their development in historical perspective.

Greek Tradition and Latin Influence in the Work of George Scholarios

“Alone Against All of Europe”

Christopher Livanos



gorgias press

2013

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

Copyright © 2013 by Gorgias Press LLC

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Gorgias Press LLC.

2013

»



ISBN 978-1-59333-344-7

ISSN 1940-0020

Second Printing

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication
Data**

A Cataloging-in-Publication Record is Available
from the Library of Congress.

Printed in the United States of America

To Peter E. Livanos

αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ix
Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	1
Cultural Animosity	3
Anthropology and Official Dogma	4
“Patristic Consensus”	5
1 Scholarios and His Times	9
2 Scholarios’s Religious Thought and its Sources	27
Athanasios of Alexandria	27
Augustine of Hippo	33
Scholarios’s Anthropology	39
The Creation of Eve	43
Trinities Human and Divine	48
Divine Justice and Divine Mercy	52
The Fall of Man and Its Consequences	55
The Trees in the Garden	61
The Individual and Society	66
3 The Conflict with Plethon	71
The Impact of Scholarios and Plethon	87
Scholarios and the Semantics of Communal Identity	89
4 Fallen Cities, Orientalism, and the Rhetoric of East and West	95
The Carver of the Union	95
Scholarios’s Lament	98
Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives on Scholarios’s Lament	102
Byzantium and Orientalism	111
Conclusion	129
Bibliography	135
Indexes	147
Index of References to Scholarios	147
Index of Biblical References	147
Index of Names and Subjects	148

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Generous support from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation enabled me to work on the final stages of research. This book would not have been possible without John Duffy's help as a patient teacher and an insightful reader. I am indebted to Nicholas Conostas for his suggestions on theology, and to Jan Ziolkowski for reading the many phases of my manuscript with an eye toward points of comparison between Byzantium and the Latin West. Paul Stephenson has provided much help on historical matters. Margaret Alexiou has been a source of guidance and inspiration throughout the time I have known her.

More people than I can name have offered valuable suggestions, but I wish to mention John Barker, Gregory Nagy, Judith Ryan, Panagiotis Roilos, Evangelos Calotychos, Robert Romanchuk, Christina Christoforaitou, Jeffrey Johnson, Cynthia Valk, and Anna Stavrakopoulou for the help they have given me. My colleagues Próspero Saíz, Mary Laoun, Hans Adler, and Max Statkiewicz deserve many thanks for the supportive and collegial environment they have created in the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. I thank my editor at Gorgias Press, Peter T. Daniels, for many patient and helpful suggestions.

ABBREVIATIONS

Editions of works by Classical authors and Church fathers are listed in the bibliography under the author's name.

CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna, 1866– .
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Bonn, 1828–97.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, eds. <i>Greek–English Lexicon</i> . 1968. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> . Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1857–66.
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> . Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1878–91.
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1904– .
RSV	Revised Standard Version, cited from <i>The New Oxford Annotated Bible</i> . Edited by Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
ST	Thomas Aquinas. <i>Summa Theologiae</i> . 5 vols. Biblioteca de autores cristianos. Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1951–56.

INTRODUCTION

George Scholarios (ca. 1400–ca. 1472), born in Constantinople, was appointed in 1453 by Mehmet II to be the first Ecumenical Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in the period of Ottoman rule. Fluent in Latin as well as his native Greek, Scholarios was a lifelong admirer of Thomas Aquinas, whose works he translated and commented on. His appreciation of Latin theology originally made Scholarios support the Union between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches proclaimed at the Council of Florence (1438–39), which he attended. His disillusionment with the West later led him to renounce the Union, though his interest in translating and studying Aquinas never diminished. In 1453, during the fall of Constantinople, he was captured and enslaved by Turkish forces. Intent on making Scholarios the leader of the Ottoman Empire's Greek Orthodox community, Mehmet had Scholarios located and then appointed him patriarch. Scholarios served under the name Gennadios II. After three terms as patriarch, he retired to the Prodromos monastery near Serres (near Thessalonika), where he continued writing and striving to bring about a spiritual revival based on the model of the early Church.

Much of this book is a response to the call issued by John Meyendorff in his statement that Scholarios was “an intellectual enigma awaiting modern scholarly investigation.”¹ Scholarios struck Meyendorff and so many other scholars as enigmatic for his blend of seemingly irreconcilable East and West Christian doctrines. It was possible for him to combine Eastern and Western ideas as he did because he and virtually all of his contemporaries paid almost no attention to differences between Eastern and Western concepts of sin. Two important ideas regarding sin that the Western Church teaches and the Eastern Church rejects are (1) that guilt from Original Sin is inherited from one's parents and, ultimately, from Adam; and (2) that a human being can be sinful by nature. The Orthodox Church's opinion is that “only the free, personal mind can commit sin and incur the

¹ John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 112.

concomitant ‘guilt.’”² The ninth-century scholar and patriarch Photios even called the idea that people can sin by nature a “sickness” and a “heresy.”³ Strangely, this important difference between East and West was paid little if any attention by the fifteenth-century theologians who struggled over defining and resolving the obstacles to Church Union. Whether or not human nature is inherently sinful is a significant question, and one’s opinions about it are likely to have a deep impact on many aspects of one’s worldview. Two cultures with radically different notions of human nature will have many other differences as a result. It was thus a serious mistake of fifteenth-century theologians, Catholic and Orthodox alike, to overlook their differing anthropologies.

The term “anthropology” here is distinguished from “theology” proper. Anthropology is that which concerns human beings and their nature, while theology is that which concerns the being and activities of God. Religious anthropology is often considered a branch of theology, but in the present study it will be necessary at times to differentiate more strictly between the two disciplines because I believe Scholarios and his contemporaries failed to pay sufficient attention to differences between Eastern and Western anthropology. Doctrines of sin are a part of anthropology rather than theology per se because all forms of Christianity staunchly agree that God is sinless and only humanity sins.

In writing the present study, it has not been easy to reach the conclusion that fifteenth-century theologians simply failed to recognize something that is obvious to nearly all modern scholars. I realize, of course, that solutions to historical problems ought to be sought above all in primary sources. The problem is that primary sources pertaining to the Council of Florence are conspicuously silent on anthropology; yet differing concepts of sin and anthropology figure in nearly every significant comparative study of Eastern and Western Christianity written in modern times.⁴ Thus there was either a tremendous misconception on the part of modern scholars or a tremendous oversight on the part of fifteenth-century theologians. When we study the Orthodox tradition diachronically, we see that modern scholars are in fact correct in their assessment of Orthodoxy as it has been practiced throughout most of its history. As we have already seen, for instance,

² Ibid., 143.

³ Photios, *Bibliothèque*, 2:177.

⁴ Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 143; Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 222–25; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)*. I am not aware of any modern survey of the topic that does not mention differences between the Eastern and Western views of sin and human nature.

Photios vehemently denounced the notion of inherited sin in the ninth century. Readers who object to my assertion that scholars of the last two hundred years have recognized an important difference between Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism that fifteenth-century theologians did not discuss could make an invaluable contribution to the field by either producing evidence that anthropological differences were discussed at the Council of Florence or by explaining how and why modern scholarship has gone so far astray.

In trying to answer the question of how men like Scholarios could try so hard to solve the theological problems of their time yet fail to see something so clear to modern researchers, we may posit at least three reasons why differing concepts of sin were not discussed in Scholarios's time. The first is that the cultural animosity between the two sides made them both unwilling to move past what they perceived as the few most urgently necessary questions to reach a deeper understanding of each other's way of thinking. The second is that the absence of a written, definitive statement of the Eastern Church's stance on anthropology led both sides to assume that the East and West must have been in agreement about it. The third is that differences between East and West are apparent even in patristic times, as I discuss in chapter 2, but the idea of a patristic consensus was seen as an indispensable Christian doctrine that neither side was willing to bring into doubt.

CULTURAL ANIMOSITY

To illustrate the first of these three points, we may cite Niketas Choniates as an example of a Byzantine who recognized vast differences between his own people and the Latins. He wrote, *Μέσον ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν χάσμα διαφορᾶς ἐστήρικται μέγιστον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀσυναφεῖς ἔσμεν καὶ διάμετρον ἀφεστήκαμεν*. [The widest gulf exists between us and them. We have not a single thought in common. We are poles apart.]⁵ Though Niketas understood how different the Eastern and Western mindsets were, his experience of the Latin sack of Constantinople gave him an intense dislike for the Latins and no inclination to reach a deep understanding of their belief system. In contrast, the participants in the fifteenth-century controversy over church union often did wish to see the two sides reach a mutual understanding, but they did not recognize the urgent need for two peoples with "not a single thought in common" to overcome their cultural misun-

⁵ Niketas Choniates, *Niketae Choniatae Historiae* 27–28; translation in George T. Dennis, "Schism, Union, and the Crusades," 182.

derstandings as a prelude to any fruitful discussion of doctrinal disagreements. It is striking that no one at the Council of Florence thought to examine the two cultures' differing assumptions about human nature before arguing about dogmatic subtleties.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND OFFICIAL DOGMA

When he called Scholarios an "intellectual enigma," Meyendorff was referring specifically to Scholarios's belief in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which is contradicted by Thomas Aquinas⁶ (whom Scholarios admired throughout his life) and not found in the teachings of the Orthodox Church. The reason Scholarios held such a view is easy enough to explain simply by the degree of Western influence on his thought.⁷ What has been more difficult to explain is why he did not recognize how bizarre such an opinion was in the context of Orthodox tradition.⁸ I am convinced that the answer to this lies in the failure of theologians from the High Middle Ages and after to pay attention to anthropology in their attempts to reconcile the East and the West. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, stating that Mary was born without Original Sin, is less meaningful to the Orthodox Church, which does not share the Western notion of Original Sin in the first place.⁹ Eastern fathers stress that individuals incur guilt when

⁶ *ST* 3, q.27, a.2.

⁷ In Scholarios's time, the Immaculate Conception was upheld by the Franciscans, who followed Duns Scotus. Scholarios was aware that different Western orders disagreed on many matters, and he felt no obligation always to favor Dominican theology despite his deep respect for Thomas Aquinas (*Oeuvres complètes de Genade Scholarios*, ed. Louis Petit, Martin Jugie, and X. A. Siderides, 2:227; references are to volume and page in this edition, unless otherwise noted).

⁸ Scholarios's views are discussed by Francis Dvornik near the end of "The Byzantine Church and the Immaculate Conception." He writes, "In their own way, and almost without any opposition, the Byzantines came to similar conclusions on the degree of original sanctity of Mary, as did the western scholastics after laborious protracted and passionate struggle" (112). Dvornik describes the Photian period as a time of increasing isolation from the West and gives Photios as an example of a Byzantine theologian whose devotion to Mary was comparable to that of Western Christians (99–104), but he does not discuss Photios's disagreement with the conceptions of Original Sin on which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is based.

⁹ Scholarios's belief in the Immaculate Conception is particularly unusual given the fact that it was not even declared a dogma by the Western Church until 1854. Scholarios's beloved Aquinas, like other Dominicans, consistently opposed the doctrine. A discussion of how Orthodox–Catholic relations were affected by Pius

they willfully imitate Adam's sin, and the Western idea that human beings inherit Adam's guilt apart from their own actions is not found in the formative Eastern Christian thinkers. Strangely, differences between Eastern and Western notions of sin seem to have gone unnoticed by Scholarios and his contemporaries, although their implications were the cause of tremendous bitterness and misunderstanding. It seems most likely that the two sides simply assumed they agreed and therefore never considered that there was any point in discussing the matter. It was not until the nineteenth century that scholars began paying serious attention to such misunderstandings. It is widely accepted today that, on the one hand, the two sides failed to understand each other on fundamental issues and, on the other hand, that they had radically different concepts of anthropology. However, a crucial fact that still needs to be pointed out and examined is that during the fifteenth century the two sides were largely unaware of their anthropological differences. Once this is understood, it will be quite clear why discussions of topics such as Purgatory could result only in misunderstanding and resentment. If two sides do not even realize they have different concepts of humanity and sin, they can never meaningfully communicate on how humanity is purged of sin. The most plausible explanation for this oversight on the part of the participants in the controversy over union is that they did not pay sufficient attention to sources other than official dogmatic decrees. The present study examines how ascetic treatises, liturgical hymns, devotional texts, and the visual arts attest to religious attitudes that are not readily apparent in conciliar decrees.

IX's declaration of the doctrine can be found in Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 5: *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700)*, 278–80. As Pelikan points out, even as late as 1854, Orthodox objections were based more on absence of precedent for the doctrine in Church tradition than on differing conceptions of Original Sin. Meyendorff has gone so far as to say, "The Mariological piety of the Byzantines would probably have led them to accept the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary as it was defined in 1854, *if only* they had shared the Western doctrine of original sin" (*Byzantine Theology*, 148). A study of East Christian devotion to Mary, emphasizing different views on human nature, has been done by Myrrha Lot-Borodine, "Le dogme de l'Immaculée Conception." Emmanuel Ghikas has argued that the definition of 1854 is actually very close to the Thomist, and hence to the Orthodox position, in "La définition de 1854." Scholarios would be pleased by Ghikas's assertion.

“Patristic Consensus”

The fathers were, if anything, even more widely cited than the Church Councils, but East and West alike desired to force a false harmony onto all the fathers rather than examine how different fathers held different views according to their cultural backgrounds. Scholarios was typical of his age when he wrote, *Σαφές ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ οἱ Εὐρωπαῖοι πατέρες περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀληθῆ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας διδασκάλοις συμβαινόντα λέγουσι* (2:218). [It is clear that the things the European fathers say about the Holy Spirit are also true and in accord with the teachers from Asia.]

As much as Scholarios admired Latin culture, a preference for the East is nonetheless apparent in the words cited above. He does not dispute that the Westerners were “fathers” but reserves the title “teachers” in this passage for his fellow Easterners. He implies that the Westerners may know truth, but that truth originates in the East. Though Scholarios was (notoriously) anything but consistent in favoring the East, he often stated rhetorically that he considered Christianity an Eastern religion and the Hellenes an Asian people. I use the terms East and West here, as Scholarios himself used them, to designate the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic worlds. “East” and “West” in his work are synonymous with “Asian” and “European.” The terms, of course, are entirely subjective. For instance, The Church of the East (not the Eastern Orthodox Church to which Scholarios belonged but the so-called “Nestorian Church”) has a feast day on which it commemorates Sts. Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, and other “fathers of the West.”

Scholarios remains an understudied figure despite the existence of an excellent critical edition of his work by Jugie, Petit, and Siderides (see n. 7 above) which has been available in its entirety now for over sixty years. The study of his stance on the Palamite controversy to the exclusion of other aspects of his work has led to a somewhat misguided conception that Scholarios was a Palamite-Thomist in the sense that he sought to reconcile the two systems of thought.

One other aspect of Scholarios’s career that has received a comparably large amount of critical attention is his conflict with the Platonist philosopher George Gemistos Plethon (d. 1452). My discussion of the Plethon controversy focuses on Scholarios’s and Plethon’s differing visions of how the post-Byzantine Greeks ought to incorporate aspects of their Hellenic heritage into the construction of a Greek identity in the absence of the Byzantine Empire. Scholarios lived well into the Ottoman period, and Plethon knew well that the empire’s days were numbered. Both believed that consciousness of the pre-Constantinian past ought to shape their people’s iden-

tity in some significant way, but they could agree on nothing beyond that. I have not discussed the philosophical aspects of the debate between the two men at length, because they have been dealt with elsewhere in more detail than most aspects of Scholarios' work.¹⁰

The fourth and final chapter focuses on literary aspects of Scholarios's work, involving a close reading of his "Lament for the Fatherland"; a comparison of the "Lament" with Greek, Latin, and Spanish poems; and a discussion of Scholarios in light of certain trends in modern literary criticism, particularly exile theory, post-colonialism, and the study of Orientalism.

My subtitle comes from a letter Scholarios wrote to the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, which I discuss at the beginning of chapter 4. Despite whatever admiration he had for individual Western thinkers, despite even the remarkable degree of Western influence on his own thought, Scholarios did not consider himself or his culture a part of Europe or of Western civilization. A problem with too much of the theoretical discourse on Orientalism is that it fails to question the dichotomy between the "Christian West" and the "Muslim East." Such a superficial dichotomy is problematic in any case, and untenable when one tries to understand the Byzantine Empire and its legacy. Scholarios identified himself as a Roman, a Christian, an Asian, an Easterner, and a Hellene. He did not consider himself a Westerner or a European, and he consciously opposed West European ideas from about 1440 to the end of his life. He did not oppose them in a bigoted way, but continued to study Western thought approvingly throughout his life although he believed his people needed to be protected from Western religious hegemony. Attention to the complexity of his situation may help the discourse on Orientalism better account for the millions of Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Bosnians, Turks, Copts, Assyrians, and others who do not fit into the categories of an aggressive, European, Christian West versus a colonized, Asian, Islamic East.

The present study can only touch the surface of Scholarios's thought. My four chapters can roughly be considered as surveys of culture, theology, history, and literature, respectively. In my title, the words *Greek* and *Latin* are intended to suggest a crosscultural focus, and *Tradition*, a crosstemporal focus. In some places I discuss various Greek and Latin influences on Scholarios; in others I compare Greek and Latin material without positing direct influence; and in others (particularly chap. 3) I focus less on a cross-cultural study and more on a diachronic approach to examine how

¹⁰ C. M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*; Bernadette LaGarde, "Georges Gémiste Pléthon."

Scholarios and Plethon tried to draw from quite different aspects of Greek antiquity to build a new community in their own times.

Much work remains to be done on Scholarios. The philosophical aspects of his conflict with Plethon and the influence of Duns Scotus on his thought are two topics I deal with only in passing but which could result in fruitful studies in addition to some groundbreaking work that has already been done.¹¹ I have not dealt with the poems (aside from one stanza of a translation from Synesios) because the texts contain philological anomalies and paleographic difficulties which I believe require further study.

All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ The Immaculate Conception is one Scotist idea in Scholarios which pertains directly to the current study. For more on Scholarios and Scotism, see Sébastien Guichardan, *Le problème de la simplicité divine en Orient et en Occident*. For more on the philosophical debates, see Martin Jugie, "Georges Scholarios, professeur de philosophie," and George Karamanolis, "Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle."

1 SCHOLARIOS AND HIS TIMES

During the initial phases of research for this project, it seemed puzzling that a man as brilliant as Scholarios could be as neglected as he is both by modern scholarship and by his countrymen and co-religionists. Scholarios's admiration of the West has perhaps led Orthodox theologians to dismiss him or to ignore him out of bias despite his undeniable political and religious significance. Chrestos Giannaras has commented:

Ζεῖ στήν καρδιά τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ, στήν Κωνσταντινούπολη, ἀναλαμβάνει τίς εὐθύνες κεφαλῆς καὶ ποιμένα τῶν ὑποδούλων ἐλλήνων, καὶ εἶναι ὁ ἴδιος ριζικά ἀφελληνισμένος, ἀνυποψίαστος γιὰ τὰ καίρια καὶ θεμελιώδη τῆς ἐλληνικῆς πνευματικῆς παράδοσης.¹

[He (Scholarios) lives in the heart of Hellenism, in Constantinople, assumes responsibility as chief and pastor of the subjugated Greeks, and is himself radically de-Hellenized, unaware of the crucial and fundamental elements of the Greek spiritual tradition.]

Though the years between the Council of Florence and his death saw Scholarios make every effort to dissociate himself from all that he believed would jeopardize the unique cultural identity of his people and the purity of their faith, Giannaras has a point in that Scholarios remained more influenced by the West than he realized. Although he intentionally and honestly rejected Western dogmas that he believed contradicted the teachings of his Church, he continued to express ideas on topics such as Original Sin and the Immaculate Conception which do not reflect the Eastern Church's positions. Scholarios never contradicts his Church's official doctrinal teachings, but the Orthodox Church believes much more than can be found in its codified statements of dogma. One can look in vain in the decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and later statements of Orthodox dogma for a definite statement of the Orthodox understanding of Original Sin that is

¹ Chrestos Giannaras, *Orthodoxia kai dysē stē neoterē ellada* [Orthodoxy and the West in Modern Greece], 89. Giannaras is part of a generation of Orthodox theologians of the last part of the twentieth century characterized by a desire to challenge Western influence on the Orthodox Church.

different from that of the Western Churches, yet it is now generally accepted that the Eastern and Western Churches have held radically different views on the matter since at least the time of Augustine. What cannot be found in the Church's official decrees can be found in its hymnography, its art, and even in the ascetic and sacramental life of the faithful.² It is when we look beyond what little systematic theology the Orthodox Church has produced and into other aspects of Eastern Christian culture and spirituality that we can begin to understand why much of Scholarios's thought, even from his later years, is dissonant with the Orthodox Tradition.

The Western theologian who exercised the greatest influence upon Scholarios was not Aquinas, whose influence he believed he could accept only with caution, but Augustine, whose status as a father of the undivided Church Scholarios never questioned. Scholarios's Augustinian view of Original Sin led to his views on the Immaculate Conception, which are as non-Eastern as they are non-Thomist. Augustine's influence on Scholarios continued throughout his life. It is quite likely that Scholarios related to Augustine on a personal level. Both men's religious views underwent deep changes in their adult lives, and both lived in bleak times when their civilizations were threatened by invading forces. Unlike Augustine, who died while Hippo was still under siege, Scholarios lived to see his city taken by the enemy, and he even managed to thrive in the aftermath of its downfall. Perhaps the times Scholarios lived in account for his, as well as many of his contemporaries', favor for Augustine's pessimistic view of human nature in contrast to the relative optimism which characterizes most of the Orthodox tradition.

To begin by giving a crude but basically accurate summary of differences between Western and Eastern spirituality, one could say that the West follows Augustine in placing greater emphasis on guilt and atonement while the East tends to emphasize spiritual experience and transformation. Of course, we will need to examine these generalizations more critically throughout the course of the present study; but, for all their simplicity, they

² At one point, Dvornik cites Joseph the Hymnographer to demonstrate that Orthodox Christians' expressions of Marian piety were comparable to those of Westerners, "even though they are repeated by a poet" ("Byzantine Church," 104). Dvornik's examination of doctrinal sources is comprehensive, but the tendency to view poetry and hymnography as genres of minor importance is, I believe, one factor that has led to an underestimation of differences between East and West. Dvornik rightly points out that Eastern Christians say Mary, "she who is without sin," but a discussion of what the Orthodox mean by "sin" reveals that Eastern and Western Christianity are more different than Dvornik's study indicates.

serve as a good starting point to compare the two traditions. A typically Eastern view of religious experience is seen in the famous, if apocryphal, story of Russia's conversion wherein Vladimir the Great's emissaries are converted because of the beauty of the Orthodox liturgy.³ Orthodoxy frequently echoes St. Paul's teaching, 'Ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις Θεοῦ ἐστίν' (1 Cor. 1:18). [For the word of the cross is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God (RSV).] A similar sentiment is found in the Akathist Hymn to the Mother of God:

Χαῖρε, φιλοσόφους ἀσόφους δεικνύουσα· χαῖρε, τεχνολόγους ἀλόγους ἐλέγχουσα.
 Χαῖρε, ὅτι ἐμωράνθησαν οἱ δεινοὶ συζητηταί· χαῖρε, ὅτι ἐμαράνθησαν οἱ τῶν μύθων ποιηταί.
 Χαῖρε, τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πλοκάς διασπῶσα· χαῖρε, τῶν ἀλιέων τὰς σαγήνας πληροῦσα.
 Χαῖρε, βυθοῦ ἀγνοίας ἐξέλκουσα· χαῖρε, πολλοὺς ἐν γνώσει φωτίζουσα.
 Χαῖρε, ὀλκάς τῶν θελόντων σωθῆναι· χαῖρε, λιμὴν τῶν τοῦ βίου πλωτῆρων.
 Χαῖρε, Νύμφη Ἀνύμφευτε.⁴

[Hail, you who show the philosophers to be unwise. Hail, you who render the crafty artless.

Hail, for the dread debaters were made fools. Hail, for the makers of myths have withered.

Hail, breaker of the Athenians' weavings. Hail, filler of the nets of the fishermen.

³ "Vladimir, Prince of Kiev, while still a pagan, desired to know which was the true religion, and therefore sent his followers to visit the various countries of the world in turn. They went first to the Muslim Bulgars of the Volga, but observing that these when they prayed gazed around them like men possessed, the Russians continued on their way dissatisfied. 'There is no joy among them,' they reported to Vladimir, 'but mournfulness and a great smell; and there is nothing good about their system.' Travelling next to Germany and Rome, they found the worship more satisfactory, but complained that here too it was without beauty. Finally they journeyed to Constantinople, and here at last, as they attended the Divine Liturgy in the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom, they discovered what they desired. 'We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth, for surely there is no such splendour or beauty anywhere upon earth. We cannot describe it to you: only this we know, that God dwells there among humans, and that their service surpasses the worship of all other places. For we cannot forget that beauty'" (Ware, *Orthodox Church*, 264; the text cited is that of *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, ed. and trans. S. H. Cross).

⁴ Akathist Hymn P, in *The Akathist Hymn*, ed. Fr. George Papadeas.

Hail, force that pulls away from the depth of ignorance. Hail, you who enlighten many with knowledge.

Hail, ship carrying those who wish to be saved. Hail, haven of life's seafarers.

Hail, bride without bridegroom.]

The hymn's description of philosophers being made foolish and the crafty rendered artless is certainly inspired by Paul's writings on the folly of the Cross in the first chapter of First Corinthians, and allusions to Paul continue in the image of the logical weavings of the Athenians being broken, which is most likely a reference to Paul's defense before the Areios Pagos and the conversion of St. Dionysios (Acts 17:16–34). The Byzantine delight in paradox is expressed again in the line *Χαῖρε, Νύμφη Ανύμφευτε*, a refrain which occurs throughout the song. The Byzantines who sang the Akathist Hymn rejoiced that the laws of nature had been broken by the Virgin Birth in order to bring about the salvation of mankind, just as the Laws of the Old Testament lost their force under the New Testament of grace. Like the masses in Luke's Gospel who saw a paralytic healed and exclaimed *εἶδομεν παράδοξα σήμερον* (Luke 5:26), the Byzantines believed that paradox ought to be celebrated. Christ freed those who chose to follow him not only from the Law of the Old Testament, but from the laws of nature as well; for the Byzantines, like pious Christians of all types in all ages, believed that mankind was no longer subject to its ancient adversary, death. Christ's victory over death is in many ways even more significant for the Eastern Christian than for the Westerner, who tends to emphasize Christ's death itself rather than his victory over death. Here I am speaking of poetry and sentiment rather than dogma, since, on a doctrinal level, Christ's death and his Resurrection are inextricably linked for the Easterner and the Westerner alike. Any Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox theologian would agree that Christ's death would have been meaningless without his Resurrection. However, despite the basic and necessary doctrinal link between the two events, we find that Christ's death speaks more to the poetic consciousness of the Westerner, and his Resurrection to that of the Easterner. We may compare the famous Orthodox Paschal Hymn, "Christ has risen from the dead, trampling down death by death and upon those in the tombs bestowing life" (*Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνημασιν ζῶν χαρισάμενος*), to the following passage from Julian of Norwich:

And thus I saw our lord Iesus langring long tyme; for the onyng of the Godhede gave strength to the manhode for love to suffre more than al man myght suffryn. I mene not allonly more peyne than al men myght

suffre, but also that he suffrid more peyne than al men of salvation that ever was from the first begynnyng into the last day myght tellyn or ful thynkyn, havynge regard to the worthynes of the heyest, worshipful kyng and the shamly, dispitous, peynful dethe; for he that is heyest was fullest nowtyd and utterlyest dispisid; for the heyest poynte that may be seane is to thynkyn and knowyn what he is that suffrid.⁵

The Greek hymn celebrates Christ's victory over death, while Julian's meditation celebrates his death itself. In the West, the empty tomb is not numbered among the Stations of the Cross. In the East, by contrast, any reflection upon the Cross that did not mention the Resurrection as well would be extremely unusual.

The visual arts also demonstrate that the West places greater importance than the East upon Christ's suffering. Western representations of the Crucifixion typically portray a look of intense physical agony on Christ's face along with open wounds and an abundance of blood, whereas in Eastern depictions the blood is usually visible only as a thin red line.⁶

Rejoicing in paradox and leery of what the Akathist Hymn calls "dread debaters" and "unwise philosophers," the Christian East has not developed a tradition of systematic dogmatics. The West, however, has produced scores of influential systems of dogmatic theology from Alexander of Hale's *Summa Theologica* to Karl Barth's *Kirchliche Dogmatik*. Though the first Christian writer to produce a detailed and systematic encyclopedia of doctrine was the Greek writer John of Damascus, few of his fellow Easterners followed in his footsteps. While the West has various schools of thought, such as Thomists and Scotists, such a phenomenon is unknown in the East,

⁵ Julian of Norwich, *A Revelation of Love*, 29–30.

⁶ Ware, *Orthodox Church*, has succinctly commented on characteristics of Byzantine crucifixion scenes: "The Orthodox Church on Good Friday thinks not simply of Christ's human suffering by itself, but rather of the contrast between His outward humiliation and His inward glory" (227). An implication which Orthodox apologists sometimes suggest, then, is that the West does think "simply of Christ's human suffering." See, for instance, Constantine N. Cavarnos, *Orthodox Iconography*, 37–38:

In Byzantine iconography, which is Christian iconography par excellence, the Crucifixion is not a gruesome spectacle as it often is in Western paintings of the modern period. Christ's body is represented as the dead body of an ordinary, unregenerate man, far less as a corpse in a state of decomposition—as in the Crucifixion by Mathias Gruenewald—inspiring horror and revulsion. Everything in the Byzantine depiction of the Crucifixion gives intimation of immortal life.

For more on the depiction of the crucified body of Christ, see Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, 107–8.

which, at least in theory, has only the the one Orthodox Tradition, which, it maintains, is the faith taught by the apostles.

Despite the important religious differences between East and West, Byzantium in its waning centuries witnessed a tremendous interest in Western theology among many intellectuals. It was in the mid fourteenth century that Byzantine interest in the West began to accelerate with the translations by Planoudes and Kydones of ancient and medieval texts from Latin into Greek.⁷ The melancholy period between the first sack of Constantinople, at the hands of Western Christians in 1204, and the second and final sack, at the hands of Muslim Turks in 1453, saw two major attempts at reconciliation between East and West: the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, and the Council of Florence in 1438–39. Both are regarded as Ecumenical Councils by Catholics and as fiascoes by Orthodox. Among the Greeks who participated in the council of Florence, Scholarios was unusual because he neither converted to Roman Catholicism nor renounced the West altogether. Instead, he remained an avid admirer of certain Western writers, particularly Thomas Aquinas, even after he became deeply disillusioned with the West as a whole. His admiration for Thomas was so great that Gerhard Podskalsky has commented,

Kein anderer byzantinischer Theologe ist so tief in das Wesen des Thomismus, seine Inhalte und seine Methode, eingedrungen wie Gennadios Scholarios. Kein anderer hat sich gleichzeitig so sehr um eine Adaption der Hochscholastik an die byzantinisch-patristische Tradition bemüht.⁸

Podskalsky's observation is remarkable because he is comparing Scholarios to many Byzantines who defected to the West, whereas Scholarios himself remained faithful to the Eastern Church throughout his life.

⁷ Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*.

Maximos Planoudes ... had the distinction of knowing Latin and thus being able to translate into Greek Latin texts ranging from Cicero and Caesar to St. Augustine and Boethius. (165)

John V was not alone in thinking that the survival of Byzantium depended upon co-operation with the west for a small but powerful group of his political supporters were of the same mind... One who was later to become a most outspoken and eloquent advocate for union with the Roman Church was Demetrios Kydones... His growing admiration for Latin theology and scholarship was already producing in him that crisis of conscience which was to lead him from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism. (257)

⁸ Gerhard Podskalsky, "Die Rezeption der thomistischen Theologie bei Gennadios II. Scholarios," 305.

The conversions, as well as the refusals to convert, that occurred after the Council of Florence caused much bitterness. Orthodox resented the Uniates as traitors. Likewise, from a Catholic perspective, the non-uniates simply failed to keep their agreement. Joseph Gill attempts to mediate some of the vehemence occasionally leveled by his fellow Roman Catholics: "These were not dishonest men. They were men whose sentiment was stronger than their intellects and they were, perhaps, not cast in a heroic mould."⁹

The men "perhaps not cast in a heroic mould," according to Gill, are those who initially signed the decrees of Florence and subsequently retracted their support for the union upon returning to the East and finding out just how unpopular unionism was among the majority of Eastern Christians. Broadly speaking, Scholarios would fall under this category, although it took him some time to change his mind. A hero, according to Gill's definition, would apparently have withstood the onslaught of popular opposition and remained faithful to Rome, but a hierarch in the Orthodox Church was expected not merely to lead his flock but also to represent and defend their faith. By all accounts, the Unionists did not represent the views of most Orthodox clergy or laity in late Byzantine society. It is really no more necessary to question the delegates' intellect than it is to indict their honor. The Latin Scholasticism they encountered in Florence and Ferrara is difficult even for the expert, and many of them were being exposed to it for the first time. Perhaps we ought to see their change of mind as the sign of honest, intelligent minds grappling with new and difficult ideas.

Despite the apparent triumph of the Latins in obtaining the Greeks' consent to unify, short-lived though it was, the Council of Florence was one of the last intellectual triumphs Scholasticism would enjoy until Thomism's enthronement at the Council of Trent over a century later.¹⁰ While Western Medieval thought was captivating certain Byzantine thinkers, the West itself was experiencing the Renaissance and the humanistic rejection of Scholasticism. A type of nonsystematic, patristically based theology similar to that which the Byzantines had traditionally favored was, ironically, gaining ground in much of the West just when Greeks were discovering Western

⁹ Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 14.

¹⁰ Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 3: *Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy*, 336: "The Council of Trent began in 1545, and it gave a powerful impulse to the renewal of Scholastic thought. ... The work of the Dominicans in commenting on the works of St. Thomas and in elucidating and developing his thought was thus reinforced by the impulse contributed by the Council of Trent to the promotion of Scholastic studies."

Scholasticism with all its tremendously complex systems of dogma. After Florence, the perceived dryness and esotericism of Scholasticism continued to be ridiculed by an ever increasing number of Latin humanists for some eighty years until Martin Luther's intensely focused and relentless hatred swept away the medieval religious landscape and helped usher in the modern world.

Not until the nineteenth century did scholars of Orthodoxy begin to voice the observation that what separated East from West was not just a set of dogmatic differences, but an entirely different worldview. The failure of the two cultures to communicate was so great that it took centuries for either side truly to realize what the root causes of their differences were. Alexis Khomiakov wrote in the 1840s:

To use the concise language of algebra, all the West knows but one datum *a*; whether it be preceded by the positive sign +, as with the Romanists, or with the negative −, as with the Protestants, the *a* remains the same. Now a passage to Orthodoxy seems indeed like an apostasy from the past, from its science, creed, and life. It is rushing into a new and unknown world.¹¹

Ware elaborates on Khomiakov's statement:

All [Western Christians] alike (although they may not always care to admit it) have been profoundly influenced by the same events: by the Papal centralization and the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages, by the Renaissance, by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. But behind members of the Orthodox Church ... there lies a very different background.¹²

Even by the Carolingian period, the cultural and religious gap between East and West was so great that, as Jaroslav Pelikan has commented, "The two parties would not have been able to understand each other even if the Westerners had been able to read Greek or the Easterners had been able to read Latin."¹³ The outcome of the Council of Florence shows just how right Pelikan is. Even though, by the fifteenth century, Easterners and Westerners had been speaking each other's languages and reading each other's books for hundreds of years, they continued to misunderstand each other.

A critique that Joseph Gill raises in *Personalities of the Council of Florence* is that the Greeks did not accept the Latin doctrines because they "were not

¹¹ Quoted by Ware, *Orthodox Church*, 1.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, 7.

on a high enough level of theological learning to assess all the arguments.”¹⁴ I posit that the problem was not so much that the Greeks failed to learn the Latins’ arguments, as that each side failed to understand the other’s underlying presuppositions. The doctrine of Purgatory, for instance, presupposes a greater concern with issues of guilt, judgment, and punishment than that which existed in most of Eastern Christianity. Since the Greek Church speaks of salvation more as healing and transformation than as justification in a forensic sense, the doctrine of cathartically punitive fire tormenting souls in the afterlife never took hold in Orthodoxy,¹⁵ although it would be an exaggeration to say that forensic imagery is of no importance whatsoever in the Eastern Church. Contemporary Orthodox polemicists may sometimes go to this extreme, but imagery of the courtroom is found in the Bible and in the writings of Orthodox theologians of all ages.

While pro-Unionists in Florence could argue with certainty that there was nothing in Orthodox tradition to contradict the Catholic teaching of Purgatory explicitly, the anti-Unionists sensed that the doctrine was contrary to the spirit of the Eastern Church. Mark Eugenikos’s position on Purgatory, which came to be accepted as standard by the Orthodox Church, was that the souls of the imperfect might undergo a process of cleansing and transformation after death, but that such a transformation could in no way involve fire or pain.¹⁶ To the Roman Catholics, it was bound to seem

¹⁴ Gill, *Personalities*, 48.

¹⁵ The idea of purifying fire is not unheard of in Greek patristic sources, its most notable advocate being Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory’s views on the subject, which are derived largely from Origen, did not become normative within the Church, however. Furthermore, he only speaks of cathartic fire as a purifying force or as a metaphor for self-inflicted psychological misery, but never as an instrument of divine retribution or wrath. Since Gregory believed in an apocatastasis, or eventual restoration of all things to God, his views on cathartic fire ought to be understood in a quite different context from those of the later medievals. At the time of the Council of Florence, Gregory’s views on apocatastasis had become a point that made Christians both East and West somewhat uneasy, because Greeks and Latins alike believed in eternal damnation, yet Gregory, one of the most revered Fathers of the Church, clearly rejected the doctrine. Purification in the afterlife and universal salvation are themes which run throughout Gregory’s work, notably in *De Vita Moysis* 2.82. Since Gregory interpreted scripture with such an allegorical bent, perhaps we should read the references to fire in his own works allegorically as well.

¹⁶ Even during late antiquity, Western fathers such as Augustine, *De Civ. D.* 21.26, and Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.41, devoted considerably more attention to the idea of cathartic fire than did the Greeks, and by the late Middle Ages the doctrine was no longer a part of Eastern Christian piety though it had become even

that Mark was simply coming up with a contrary argument after the fact for no other reason than to be obstinate. However, Mark's position does genuinely represent the Eastern tradition, which had been evolving in isolation from the West since Late Antiquity, when New and Old Rome forgot each other's languages. It is true, as the Unionists were eager to point out, that the doctrine of Purgatory did not contradict any official canonical or dogmatic decree of the Orthodox Church. It did, however, contradict the sense of Orthodoxy that they developed from their hymns, their ascetic lives, their experiences of personal transformation, and their conception of God's love.

If Church Union is to make any progress, it must be based not simply on clever dogmatic arguments, but on a deep understanding of the cultures involved. The Council of Florence failed because its supporters attempted merely to twist contradictory doctrinal statements to the point where they could be woven together. That the handful of Eastern intellectuals and politicians who supported the Union were drastically out of touch with Eastern society as a whole is apparent in the fact that all of them ended up either renouncing their views, staying in Italy, or going to jail as traitors once they returned to their own lands. To their credit, they believed Western aid for Constantinople could be ensured only through Church Union. The city fell in spite of the Union, though, and the very same Eastern Churchmen who once saw the West as the East's only hope would begin to see their captivity to the Turks as God's just retribution against the Greeks for seeking aid from the Pope rather than relying on Divine Providence.

Scholarios was one of the formerly pro-Union delegates who ultimately came to hold this view that God was chastising the Orthodox for their dalliance with Rome. He was one of the many Easterners who went through a period of fascination with the West, but most of them eventually either became Catholic or else developed an animosity toward all things Western. Scholarios is unusual in that he did neither. Though he remained ever loyal to the Eastern Church, he nonetheless mastered the complexities and subtleties of Western Scholastic thought. Perhaps the reason so little has yet been written on him is that he seems, at first, to be such an odd and indecipherable mix of East and West.

The resources have long been available for the study of this man whose life and work tell us so much about Byzantium, Western Europe, and the Ottoman Empire. A reliable and thorough critical edition of his works has been available since 1936, and the list of scholars who have

called for a serious examination of his work is impressive. In addition to the quotation from Meyendorff with which I began this study, Jaroslav Pelikan has written, "There was probably no such apology over against Islam that succeeded more fully than the treatise *Concerning the Only Way for the Salvation of Men*, written by the Aristotelian Philosopher and theological scholar, George Scholarios."¹⁷ Timothy Ware¹⁸ has joined the Greek scholar Ioannes Karmires¹⁹ in ranking the aforementioned treatise among the most important statements of Orthodox belief to be written since the seventh and final Ecumenical Council of 787.

Despite Scholarios's universally recognized importance, he remains an understudied figure. Furthermore, much of the scholarship on him seeks to understand him only insofar as his work relates to Western Scholasticism. Orthodox writers have sometimes reviled him as a latinizer and at other times hailed him as the hero of the anti-Roman resistance. Westerners have generally viewed him as Thomist. One scholar of Byzantine Thomism has even classified him as simultaneously anti-Thomist and pro-Thomist.²⁰ While a deeper understanding of Gennadios's use of Aquinas is certainly needed, the one-sided focus on Thomism has caused the study of Scholarios to come to a virtual halt since the promising work begun by Petit, Jugie, and Siderides in the 1920s and 1930s. Western studies of late Byzantium typically have a paragraph on Scholarios, the "Byzantine Thomist," and his supposed attempt to forge a synthesis of Thomism and Palamism. Two major studies of Scholarios have been undertaken by Greek scholars, Zeses²¹ and Pharantos.²² The former has been criticized for the argument that many of the writings wherein Scholarios praises Latin authors were, in fact, papist forgeries.²³ The latter focuses on the influence of the fathers on Scholarios and ignores the Medieval West entirely. The An-

¹⁷ Pelikan, *Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, 242.

¹⁸ Ware, *Orthodox Church*, 203.

¹⁹ Ioannes Karmires, ed., *Ta dogmatika kai symbolika mnēmeia tēs Orthodoxou Katholikēs Ekklesiās* [The dogmatic and symbolic monuments of the Orthodox Catholic Church], 1:429–36.

²⁰ Stylianos Papadopoulos, *Hellenikai metaphraseis thomistikōn ergōn* [Greek translations of Thomist works].

²¹ Theodoros Zeses, *Gennadios B' Scholarios, Bios-Syngrammata-Didaskalia* [Gennadios II Scholarios: Life-writings-teaching].

²² M. Pharantos, "Hē theologia tou Gennadiou tou Scholariou" [The theology of Gennadios Scholarios]. This work contains many exclamation points but few mentions of Scholarios, despite its title.

²³ J. Darrouzès, review of *Gennadios B' Scholarios*, by Theodoros Zeses.

gelic Doctor gets not one mention in the main text of Pharantos's study of Scholarios, although translations of and commentaries on Aquinas take up approximately one quarter of Scholarios's extant works. Chrestos Giannaras²⁴ represents the other extreme, arguing that the tradition of the fathers was foreign to Scholarios, who remained always more of a Western Scholastic thinker than an Orthodox theologian.

Primarily an autodidact, Scholarios was influenced by many different schools of thought, and the reader who attempts to confine him to any particular ideology, including Thomism, will be disappointed and somewhat bewildered. The so-called Byzantine Thomist believed in the Immaculate Conception, which Aquinas and Orthodox tradition both rejected. Scholarios was certainly aware of all the objections to the Immaculate Conception, but he sided with neither his favorite Western theologian nor his own church, but rather with the Franciscan school of Duns Scotus. Such an anomaly would indeed be shocking from a Western Thomist. However, Thomism was not a school of thought in Byzantium as it was in the West. There were no Dominican schools in Constantinople as there were in Paris, Cologne, and other Western cities. If an individual such as Scholarios happened to admire Thomas Aquinas, that did not make him a Thomist in anything like the Western sense. A Westerner who wished to become a theologian was, under all but the most extraordinary circumstances, obliged to join a religious order and expected to conform to that order's teachings. The Dominicans followed Thomas Aquinas in arguing against the Immaculate Conception. Their archrivals on this subject were the Franciscans, who vigorously promoted the doctrine in keeping with the teachings of Duns Scotus.²⁵ Scotus was, without a doubt, the Franciscans' doctrinal founder, even if Bonaventure was its intellectual founder and Francis the spiritual founder to whose example numerous reformers urged the order to return. The Immaculate Conception, of course, is only one of the doctrines which the two schools debated, and Scholarios, with his excellent knowledge of Latin and prominent contacts in the West, was certainly aware of the official positions of both orders on all major issues. In the East, there were institutional restrictions on picking and choosing doctrines from the various scholastic camps, as there were in the West.

Since Scholarios clearly felt no qualms about borrowing anti-Thomist and non-Byzantine ideas from Scotism, in what sense can he truly be called

²⁴ Giannaras, *Orthodoxy*, 89.

²⁵ See Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 2: *Medieval Philosophy*, 212–566.

a Byzantine Thomist? Hugh Christopher Barbour offers a valuable, if in some ways problematic, insight:

Byzantine Thomism cannot be a theological Thomism, even if it accepts most of St. Thomas' theological conclusions and is used primarily with a theological finality, because it does not necessarily accept what is a formally unifying element, a first principle of St. Thomas' theological reasoning: the Universal Roman Magisterium. Rather the element which unites Thomism and Byzantium is not dogma, but philosophy, a philosophy which is guided by and suited to defend Christian faith. Byzantine Thomism is a philosophical Thomism, that is, it begins with a defense of reason and logical demonstration about created and uncreated being. This philosophy is at the origins of Orthodoxy, for it makes Orthodoxy possible, a rational understanding which is not simply faith or personal experience, but rather as far as possible renders these accessible to reason. It is this which is the philosophical tradition of the Christian use of Aristotle's logic, nowhere more coherently developed than in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, nowhere more strictly enforced than in Orthodox Byzantium.²⁶

Aquinas's down-to-earth, practical approach to philosophy as well as theology appealed to Scholarios. Until he was at least well into his thirties, Scholarios seems to have been interested primarily in Thomas's purely philosophical works. As a student of Aristotle, Scholarios was understandably interested in Aquinas, who was almost universally acclaimed as the greatest interpreter of Aristotle at least since Averroes and possibly of all time. In the language of modern academia, to study Aristotle but not Aquinas would have been to ignore the most significant "secondary sources."

Scholarios himself explains that one of the reasons he had favored Aristotle over Plato since his youth was that the Stagirite's thought was more compatible than Plato's with religion.²⁷ Nonetheless, Scholarios was clearly

²⁶ Hugh Christopher Barbour, *The Byzantine Thomism of George Gennadios Scholarios*, 39.

²⁷ Contradictory claims are often made as to whether Byzantium was more Aristotelian as a whole or more Platonist. It may suffice to say for our purposes here that the average Byzantine would have found either title offensive and preferred simply to be called a Christian. For an argument that Byzantium was essentially Platonist, see Constantine N. Cavarnos, "Aristotle's Legacy in the Hellenic East." For an argument that the most important Byzantine thinkers were mostly grounded in Aristotelian philosophy, see Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 13–56. Barbour is so sure of Byzantine Aristotelianism that he writes, "Authors like Meyendorff and Tsirpanlis, for example, seem to be unaware of these easily ascertainable facts of history" (102).

more interested in philosophy than theology in his early life. He began his intellectual career as a teacher of grammar, logic, and other subjects which do not relate directly to theology. In his early life, before he became involved in matters of Church and State, the works of Aquinas that Scholarios chose to translate and comment on were all philosophical writings which do not deal directly with Christian theology, a fact which lends some support to Barbour's assertion that his Thomism was philosophical rather than theological. It was not until approximately 1464 that he undertook the task of translating Thomas's two theological masterpieces, the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and the *Summa Theologiae*.²⁸

It may seem odd that his attention turned more toward Thomas's strictly religious works so late in life. He had already become disillusioned with the Roman Catholic Church, and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople had made the issue of union irrelevant. However, he still devoted much effort to making abridged and occasionally de-Westernized versions of Thomas's writings available to Greeks as reference works for Christian apologetics. The task of defending Christianity against other religions became a priority for him shortly after the Ottoman conquest, and Thomas's systematic handbooks seemed the ideal guide in Scholarios's apologetic task. Immediately after being appointed Patriarch, Scholarios was called on by none other than Mehmet the Conqueror to write an exposition of the Christian faith so Turks could better understand Christianity. He later officially condemned the neo-pagan teachings of the Platonist philosopher George Gemistos Plethon. When he left the Patriarchate, he continued his apologetical writings, composing two dialogues between a Christian and a Jew in 1464, the year he began his translations of the two *Summae*. Both the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and the *Summae Theologiae* were composed by Thomas as basic manuals of Christian teaching. Neither work goes into great detail by late medieval standards, however hard this fact may be for the modern reader to fathom. The *Summa Contra Gentiles* was written originally at the request of Raimundo de Peñaforte to be an easily consulted aid for Christian preachers trying to convert Muslims and Jews in Spain, and Scholarios felt that such a manual could be useful to Greek Orthodox Christians in meeting the challenges of Islam, Judaism, and even neo-paganism, whose adherents were tiny in number but occasionally of high standing. Thomas's arguments in favor of monotheism, the freedom of the will, the divine in-

²⁸ A chronology of Scholarios's work is found in *Oeuvres complètes*, 8 app. 4.16–19. These chronologies are generally reliable; I note in the text where they are questionable and where more recent scholarship has taken place.

spiration of the New Testament, and the veneration of saints could all be used with little or no alteration by an Eastern Christian. The veneration of images and belief in the Holy Trinity took very different forms in East and West, but Thomas's arguments could still, in Scholarios's opinion, be useful to Orthodox Christians against Muslims and Jews who rejected these Christian concepts entirely. The difference between the Western use of statuary and the Eastern practice of using only two-dimensional images in religious art was apparently not a subject of debate at the time, despite the tremendous importance of the icon's two-dimensionality in Eastern Christendom. The difference between the Eastern and Western understandings of the Trinity were known to everyone and easily identified by any Greek able to read.

While Barbour is correct that Scholarios's Thomism was mainly philosophical rather than theological, he sometimes overstates his case:

What is of interest here is the fact that even given Scholarios' great interest and penetration of Thomistic theology, he never translated a single one of Thomas' strictly theological works. When, however, he does provide a Greek resume of the two *Summae*, he is careful to say that it is for his own private study. All of Gennadios' Thomistic translations are philosophical. In fact he never translated a single theological work of any Western author.²⁹

Barbour exaggerates, as Scholarios never actually states that his translated and abridged version of the *Summae* are strictly for his personal use. He does mention that maintaining a large personal library with multivolume works was practically impossible in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople, especially for a man who traveled as often he did, frequently under dire circumstances. However, he adds that his abridged translation might happen to be of value to others. In his preface to the two *Summae*, he writes:

Οὐκ ἔχοντες οὖν τοσοῦτον ὄγκον βιβλίων ἑαυτοῖς πανταχοῦ συμμετάγειν οὐτ' ἀνεχόμενοι παντελῶς αὐτῶν ἐστερῆσθαι, τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιτομὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπενοήσαμεν, ὥπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης φιλοτιμίας, ἀρκοῦσαν ἡμῖν τε καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ ταῖς βίβλοις ἐκείναις πολλάκις ὠμιληκῶς ἀκριβῶς, ἀντὶ τῶν βιβλίων ὄλων. (5:1)

[Being utterly unable to carry so great a mass of books all about and not bearing to be without them altogether, we worked out this summary for no other ambition but that it, in place of all the books, may suffice for us and for anyone else who may be well-versed in them.]

²⁹ Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 56.

It is quite clear from this passage that Scholarios believed other people would read his translations, although he cleverly protects himself from the possible charge of disseminating Latin ideas with the ambiguous *εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ ταῖς βίβλοις ἐκείναις πολλάκις ὠμιληκῶς ἀκριβῶς* [anyone else who may be well-versed in them]. If his only concern had truly been to abridge the books, thereby making them easier to carry, it would have been unnecessary to go to the trouble of translating them into Greek. It would also be odd to write any preface at all to a book which he did not intend to have others read, so the passage cited above indicates both that Scholarios produced his translations of the *Summae* with some sort of audience in mind, and that there were Greeks in the 1460s who knew little or no Latin but were deeply familiar with Thomas through already existent translations, probably those of Kydones. If everyone who was “ὠμιληκῶς ἀκριβῶς” in Thomist thought were equally well versed in the Latin language, translations would have been unnecessary.

While one can argue that Barbour is technically correct in stating that Scholarios never translated a single theological work by a Westerner, this particular point which Barbour makes in his mostly excellent study can only be accepted with certain reservations. Excerpts from the two *Summae* translated into Greek take up two volumes of Scholarios’s complete works, so it is not true in any meaningful sense that he never translated a single Latin theological work. While he never translated such a work in its entirety, the fact that he produced over one thousand pages of translations from Thomas’s theological works cannot be dismissed or overlooked. Nonetheless, Barbour’s argument that Scholarios’s Thomism was philosophical rather than theological is basically true, especially with respect to the beginning of Scholarios’s career. Although even his earliest writings demonstrate a not too deeply hidden interest in religion in the form of curiously incongruous theological digressions that make their way into discussions of grammar and other seemingly secular topics, his first love was Aristotelian philosophy, and he used Aquinas at first exclusively as an aid in understanding Aristotle. It was only when Scholarios was in his late fifties or sixties that he turned his attention toward the Angelic Doctor’s religious writings, a fact which leaves us with the odd but inevitable conclusion that Scholarios’s interest in Thomas’s theology increased simultaneously with his disillusionment in Thomas’s Church.³⁰

³⁰ Zeses argues that Scholarios only studied Latin theology in order to combat it. His position is that Scholarios recognized his people’s relative ignorance of Latin theology as compared to the deep awareness of Greek patristics found in the West.

If Western military and political aid had turned out to be an illusion, perhaps the West could still benefit the East intellectually. After all, however real the Western betrayal of Constantinople might have been, Scholarios was convinced that the true reason the city fell was that the Greek Orthodox people had turned their backs on God by embracing immorality and apostasy. At any rate, the gentle, jovial Neapolitan friar Thomas Aquinas was hardly to blame for the behavior of his co-religionists. If he agreed with them about certain matters, that was only human nature. *Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἔθος* (5:1).

Scholarios surely realized that a good many Westerners were sincere in their desire to help the Greeks. Wishing to atone for the sins of the West, Pope Callistus III had spent his entire career trying to organize a crusade to recapture Constantinople for Christianity.³¹ Pius II attempted to launch such a crusade as well.³² Scholarios realized, though, that their desire to win the “schismatic Greeks” over to Roman Catholicism was as strong as their desire to defeat the Turks militarily. The Greeks, he believed, should accept divine justice and remain true to their faith under foreign rule (4:211–31). God had punished them for their willingness to become the spiritual slaves of the Latin Church in exchange for political freedom from the infidel Turks. Mehmet the Conqueror’s lust for power was motivated by political rather than religious concerns, and he was the most tolerant toward Christianity of all Ottoman Sultans. He followed the Koran’s mandate allowing Christians to practice their religion, and he asked the Greek community whom he ought to appoint patriarch. The obvious and apparently unanimous choice was Scholarios. Scholarios and his beloved nephew Theodore Sophianos, who took an active part in the fighting, had been taken to Adrianople as slaves by a Turk after Constantinople was conquered,³³ and it

It is quite true that this disparity put the Greeks at a disadvantage in theological disputes, but that Scholarios’s motivation was entirely polemical can only be supported by alleging elaborate hoaxes and forgeries to deny the authenticity of the texts where Scholarios explicitly praises Latin theologians (Zeses, *Gennadios II Scholarios*, 365). Much more plausible is the opinion of Robert Browning, “Teachers,” 113: “George Scholarios, in spite of his rigidly anti-Roman theological stance, was a great admirer of the teachers of philosophy in the West. Many Byzantines had begun to realize that they might have something to learn from the despised and often hated Latins.” I hope to show that Scholarios admired the Latins not only for their philosophy but also for their theology.

³¹ N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580*, 102–5.

³² Gill, *Personalities*, 76.

³³ Aristides Papadakis, “Gennadios II and Mehmet the Conqueror,” 91.

took some six months before he could be found and placed on the patriarchal throne. He wrote that he was treated well as a slave (1:280), which is probably true since he tried to escape his new office by citing a canon of the church that slaves cannot be bishops (4:228).³⁴ As patriarch, however, he worked diligently in the face of much adversity to aid his people and ensure the survival of their faith and their sense of cultural identity. By the beginning of the Ottoman period, he agreed with the sentiment "Better the Turk's turban than the Cardinal's mitre,"³⁵ and he displayed the combination of pragmatism and vision which the Greek people needed in adjusting to life as a colonized minority within an expanding empire.

While Scholarios's reputation as a bridge-builder between East and West may give him a certain ecumenical appeal, he did not consciously set out to form a synthesis of Western and Eastern theology. The research that has gone into this study has led me to the conclusion that such a synthesis would in fact have been even more difficult than Scholarios himself supposed, given the differences between East and West that had begun developing at least as early as the fourth century.

³⁴ Perhaps Scholarios was consciously imitating the *nolo episcopari* topos.

³⁵ The attribution of this quip to Loukas Notaras is possibly apocryphal, but the statement has become proverbial nonetheless, and it expresses a sentiment which was widespread in the aftermath of Byzantium's fall. It is still heard on the lips of today's Greeks. For more information on this saying and the underlying sentiment, see Ihor Ševčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence," 315. Ševčenko argues that the Greeks did not express such sentiments before 1453. In this case, the utterance is less an expression of defiance than of resignation, since the Greeks knew they could no longer choose which foreign empire would rule them.

2 SCHOLARIOS'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND ITS SOURCES

This chapter begins with a survey of the Greek and Latin patristic traditions, focusing on a brief comparison of Athanasios (ca. 296–373) and Augustine (354–430), who are among the earliest theologians to represent certain tendencies that would become normative in their respective traditions. We then turn our attention directly toward Scholarios, examining his religious thought in the context of the two churches and their differences. The present chapter focuses mainly on primary texts from both the Greek and Latin traditions, with the voice of Scholarios himself appearing in dialogue with his predecessors. The purpose of this chapter is not to give a comprehensive portrait of Scholarios as a religious thinker, but rather to focus on the aspect of his thought that has been most troubling to scholars, namely, his strange blend of Eastern and Western Christianity.

ATHANASIOS OF ALEXANDRIA

Athanasios lived at a time when it had occurred to no one that Christendom would some day be divided between the Greek East and the Latin West. He is regarded as a father by nearly all Christian churches, with the exception of several whose origins are in the Radical Reformation. It is possible for an Orthodox, a Catholic, and a Reformed Christian to read Athanasios and for all to be convinced that the Alexandrian father is one of their own. While it would be rare to find a trinitarian Christian of any denomination from any era who would overtly disagree with the basic tenets of Athanasios's Christology, readers of different cultures have interpreted his statements in such different ways that they have essentially created distinct faiths with irreconcilably contradictory doctrines. A comparative study of Athanasios's *Περί τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως* [On the Incarnation] and Anselm's (ca. 1033–1109) *Cur Deus Homo* will give the reader a solid understanding of several major differences between East and West. For Anselm, God the Son became man in order to pay a legally binding debt to God the Father that humanity owed but was unable to fulfill without divine help. For the

Eastern Church, in contrast, such legal intricacies are largely unimportant.¹ Following Athanasios, Easterners emphasize the belief that God became man to allow mankind to participate more fully in the Divine.

The most readily apparent difference between Athanasios's treatise on the Incarnation and Anselm's is that the former never describes Christ's death as a blood sacrifice offered to satisfy God the Father in atonement for an offense done to his honor by man. As important as this interpretation of the Savior's death is to Western Christianity, the East rarely speaks of Christ's death as "satisfaction." Anselm's influence, however, has colored Western translations of Athanasios to the point where even learned scholars of Eastern Christianity use Anselmian terminology, thereby introducing concepts foreign to the original text. For instance, Robert W. Thomson renders Athanasios's ἄλλ' ἢ μετάνοια οὔτε τὸ εὐλογον τὸ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐφύλαττεν into English as "but repentance would not have saved God's honor."² Penelope Lawson comes closer to the mark in translating this phrase as "but repentance would not guard the Divine consistency."³ "Honor" is rarely an appropriate translation of εὐλογον, and one cannot help feeling that Thomson must have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by Anselm's frequent references to God the Father's wounded *honor*, of which the following is typical:

Anselm: Si deo nihil maius aut melius, nihil iustius quam honorem illius servat in rerum dispositione summa iustitia, quae non est aliud quam ipse deus.

Boso: Hoc quoque nil apertius.

A: Nihil ergo servat deus iustius quam suae dignitatis honorem.

B: Concedere me oportet.

A: Videtur tibi quod eum integre servet, si sic auferri sibi permittit, ut nec solvatur nec ipse auferentem puniat?

B: Non audeo dicere.

A: Necessesse est ergo, ut aut ablatus honor solvatur aut poena sequatur. Alioquin aut sibi deus ipsi iustus non erit aut ad utrumque impotens erit; quod nefas est vel cogitare.⁴

¹ An extensive if avowedly polemical discussion of Original Sin in Orthodoxy is John Romanides, *To Propatorikon Hamartema* [Original sin]. For a discussion of Anselm's δικανική θεωρία [legalistic theory] and Orthodox theology, see especially pp. 10–13.

² Athanasios, *De Incarnatione* 2.2, ed. and trans. Robert W. Thomson, 150–1. References are to this Greek text, but the translation is my own unless noted otherwise.

³ Athanasios. *St. Athanasios on the Incarnation*, trans. Penelope Lawson.

⁴ *Cur Deus Homo* 1.13, ed. Francis Salesius Schmitt, O.P. References are to this

[Anselm: If there is nothing greater or better than God, then there is nothing more just than the highest justice, which upholds his honor in the arrangement of things and is nothing other than God himself.

Boso: Nothing could be plainer.

A: Then there is nothing more just for God to uphold than his own honor.

B: I have to agree.

A: Does it seem to you that he upholds it entirely if he allows it to be taken away from him so that it should neither be restored and he should not punish the one who has taken it?

B: I do not dare say such a thing.

A: So it is necessary, then, either that the honor which has been taken away should be restored or that a punishment should follow. Otherwise, God would either not be just with regard to himself or he would be powerless with regard to another, which it is unseemly even to think about.]

It would not be difficult for a reader familiar with Western theology to read Athanasios's *Περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως* and conclude that it says many things which were simply restated in Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*. However, such a reading becomes less plausible when the reader consciously avoids imposing Western medieval ideas onto Athanasios's works, as we have seen in the case of Thomson's translation of *εὐλογον* as "honor." There are several other Western doctrines which a reader unfamiliar with the Christian East could inadvertently read into Athanasios's treatise. Among these are the ideas that guilt for Adam's transgression is inherited by all human beings and that Christ's death was offered as a sacrifice to God the Father alone. Athanasios says nothing to contradict these beliefs, which would eventually become dogma in the Latin West, but he does not seem to have held them, either. Similarly, although he never says anything that would contradict Anselm's elaborate juridical theories, there is no reason to suppose that the questions of wounded honor, satisfaction, and guilt that so preoccupied Anselm were of any special urgency to him.

The one dogmatic issue which did concern Athanasios greatly in all of his Christological writings was the divinity of Christ. His only true concern from a doctrinal perspective was to denounce Arius's (d. 336) teaching that Christ was not truly divine in the same sense as God the Father. It is precisely because Athanasios's purpose was so specific that his appeal is so broad. Throughout the history of Christianity, his stance *contra mundum* has made him the hero of all who share his belief in the divinity of Christ. The

Copt, the Greek Orthodox, the Anglican, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Roman Catholic can all find in Athanasios a spokesman for one of the essential elements shared by all of their faiths: the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Word of God, although their reasons for esteeming the Alexandrian father vary, sometimes slightly and sometimes greatly.

Naturally, Anselm's doctrine of atonement depends on Athanasios's doctrine of the divinity of Christ. If Christ were not truly God, he would not be perfect, his sacrifice would not be acceptable to God the Father, and man would remain in the same unforgiven state as before Christ's death. Protestant doctrines generally share Anselm's views on satisfaction and atonement and thus are equally indebted to Athanasios's insistence on the divinity of Christ. Though Anselm makes no sense without Athanasios's incarnationism, Athanasios can be understood quite cogently without any Anselmian notions of honor or satisfaction.

Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνὴνθρῶπησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν (*De Inc.* 54) [For he became human so that we might become divine] is certainly Athanasios's most famous statement, and it constitutes one of the chief patristic witnesses to the Orthodox doctrine of deification, which is a fundamental part of the Eastern understanding of salvation. What Athanasios and Eastern Christian thinkers in general have in common is their interest in man's transformation in Christ and, compared to much of Western theology, their relative lack of interest in either juridical concepts or details of the transaction which took place among the members of the Trinity when Christ was killed and resurrected. Athanasios does not address these matters, and he advocates an attitude of reverent silence regarding many aspects of the Incarnation:

Καὶ ὅλως τὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ γεγόμενα τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐστίν, ἃ εἰ διηγήσασθαι τις ἐθέλῃσειεν, ἔοικε τοῖς ἀφορῶσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ θέλουσιν ἀριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα ταύτης. ὥς γὰρ οὐ δύναται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιλαβεῖν τὰ ὅλα κύματα, τῶν ἐπερχομένων παριόντων τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ πειράζοντος, οὕτως καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ πάντα τὰ ἐν σώματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατορθώματα περιλαβεῖν ἀδύνατον τὰ ὅλα καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ δέξασθαι, πλείονων ὄντων τῶν παριόντων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνθύμησιν ὣν αὐτὸς νομίζει περιεληφέναι. κάλλιον οὖν μὴ πρὸς ὅλα ἀφορῶντα λέγειν, ὧν οὐδὲ μέρος ἐξεπεῖν τις δύναται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐνὸς μνημονεῦσαι, καὶ σοὶ καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὅλα θαυμάζειν. πάντα γὰρ ἐπίσης ἔχει τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ ὅποι δ' ἂν τις ἀποβλέψῃ, ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ Λόγου τὴν θειότητα βλέπων ὑπερεκπλήττεται. (*De Inc.* 54)

[In short, such and so many are the Saviour's achievements that follow from His Incarnation, that to try to number them is like gazing at the open sea and trying to count the waves. One cannot see all the waves

with one's eyes, for when one tries to do so those that are following on baffle one's senses. Even so, when one wants to take in all the achievements of Christ in the body, one cannot do so, even by reckoning them up, for the things that transcend one's thought are always more than one thinks one has grasped.

As we cannot speak adequately about even a part of His work therefore, it will be better for us not to speak about it as a whole. So we will mention but one thing more, and then leave the whole for you to marvel at. For, indeed, everything about it is marvelous, and wherever a man turns his gaze he sees the Godhead of the Word and is smitten with awe.⁵

This quotation immediately follows Athanasios's statement that God became human so that human beings might be deified, and it occurs near the end of *De Incarnatione*. Athanasios's goal is to argue that Christ was truly God and that his divinity was necessary for the salvation of mankind. Once he has presented his arguments in support of Christ's divinity, however, he sees no need to speculate on many soteriological subjects that would concern later generations of theologians.

Another significant element of Athanasios's doctrine that represents the traditional position of the Eastern Church is the absence of any notion of an inherited, ancestral guilt such as that which, in Western theology, automatically places the individual in an inimical relationship to his creator. Athanasios describes the nature and cause of human sinfulness as follows:

ἡ γὰρ παράβασις τῆς ἐντολῆς εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπέστρεφεν, ἵνα, ὥσπερ οὐκ ὄντες γεγόνασιν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι φθορὰν ὑπομείνωσι τῷ χρόνῳ εἰκότως... οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, ἀποστραφέντες τὰ αἰώνια, καὶ συμβουλία τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς τὰ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐπιστραφέντες, ἑαυτοῖς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ φθορᾶς γεγόνασιν, ὄντες μὲν ὡς προεῖπον κατὰ φύσιν φθαρτοί, χάριτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου μετουσίᾳ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκφυγόντες, εἰ μεμενήκεισαν καλοί. (*De Inc.* 4–5)

[For the transgression of the commandment turned them to what was natural, so that, as they had come into being from non-existence, so also they might accordingly suffer the corruption consequent to their non-being. ...

But men, turning away from things eternal and by the counsel of the devil turning toward things corruptible, were themselves the cause of corruption in death. They are, as I said above, corruptible by nature but by the grace of the participation of the Word they could have escaped from the consequences of their nature if they had remained virtuous.]

⁵ Translation by Lawson, *St. Athanasios*, 93.

In this passage, and throughout the *De Incarnatione*, Athanasios avoids references to death as a manifestation of God's wrath and writes of death and corruption as a fate which man brings upon himself by voluntarily rejecting divine precepts, the following of which could have assured man of immortality. When Athanasios writes of divine emotion, it is invariably in reference to God being filled not with anger but with compassion.⁶ Although the saying that Western Christianity is more "legalistic" than its Eastern counterpart has perhaps become something of a platitude, it remains a remarkable and undeniable fact that references to retribution and satisfaction, indeed to any type of punishment at all, are absent from Athanasios's treatise.⁷ Death, to him, is never God's will, but the inevitable and self-inflicted consequence of man's stubborn refusal to do as God wishes. In short, Athanasios describes how God saves man from man, whereas many later theories of atonement and justification, particularly those of Anselm and his followers, describe how God saves man from God. Scholarios and other religious thinkers of his time did not pay sufficient

⁶ ἐφιλανθρωπεύσατο (*De Inc.* 4) is a characteristically Athanasian way of describing the divine motivation. Divine *Philanthropia*, furthermore, has always been an important concept in the Orthodox Church.

⁷ This is not to deny the strong element of vindictiveness that appears in his more overtly polemical work. It is clear that he hoped and believed Arius would find just retribution. It is difficult to find a survey of Orthodoxy written in the past few decades that does not say something about the West's emphasizing forensic aspects of salvation and the East's emphasizing salvation as the deification of humanity. Citations from two of the more important overviews of Orthodoxy follow:

The development of penitential practice and theology in the Byzantine world was distinct from its Western counterpart in that it never knew the influence of legalistic interpretations of salvation, such as the Anselmian doctrine of "satisfaction," and never faced a crisis comparable to the Western Reformation and Counter-Reformation, with the latter's stress on clerical authority. (Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 195)

Where Orthodoxy sees Christ the Victor, the late medieval and post-medieval west sees chiefly Christ the Victim. While Orthodoxy interprets the Crucifixion primarily as an act of triumphant victory over the powers of evil, the west—particularly since the time of Anselm of Canterbury (?1033–1109)—has tended rather to think of the Cross in penal and juridical terms, as an act of satisfaction or substitution designed to propitiate the wrath of an angry Father. (Ware, *Orthodox Church*, 229)

Anselm himself was too deeply influenced by the idea of God as an unmoved mover to speak directly of his "anger," but Ware is certainly correct that that is how the tradition developed for the most part in the West. For more on Anselm's philosophical background, see R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, 197–227.

attention to this great difference, although Mark of Ephesos displayed at least an above-average awareness of the problem when he argued that Latin concern with "satisfaction" compromised God's love. Even Mark does not take his argument beyond a specific refutation of the doctrine of Purgatory to see the broader underlying differences between East and West.⁸

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

The notion that Adam's sin is transmitted to humanity physically through the semen has its roots in the earliest Latin theologians, but it was Augustine of Hippo's anti-Pelagian writings that made this view of sin a central part of Western Christianity.⁹ The North African father, however, was unknown to Byzantium throughout most of the empire's existence. No Byzantine icon depicts him. No feast day commemorated him in the Eastern calendar. No canon was sung in his honor. No child was baptized with his name, and most of his writings remained unknown until after the Fourth Crusade when the West began to impose itself on Byzantium intellectually as well as politically and militarily. Accordingly, most of Byzantine theology maintained the anthropology of St. Athanasios and the other Greek fathers with no discernible Augustinian influence.¹⁰ The man who gained the reputation as something of a super-father in the West remained a distant memory in the East until the thirteenth century.

An observation frequently made about the Orthodox Church is that it speaks less than the West about the salvation of the individual and more about the salvation of the world.¹¹ Certainly, this is largely due to the ab-

⁸ See Nicholas Conostas, "To Sleep Perchance to Dream: The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature," 117.

⁹ August., *De Nuptiis et concupiscentia* 1.18.220. For more on the history of the doctrine of Original Sin, see A. Gaudel and M. Jugie, "Péché originel."

¹⁰ See Michael Azkoul, *The Influence of Augustin of Hippo on the Orthodox Church*, for a general discussion of the lack of Augustinianism in Orthodox tradition.

¹¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus Through the Centuries*, 67:

It was characteristic of the Greek Christian philosophers of the fourth and fifth centuries that, by contrast with the later Christian individualism manifest especially in Western thought, they always viewed humanity and the cosmos in close proximity. ... One reason for a greater emphasis on the Cosmic Christ in the thought of the Greek East than in that of the Latin West must be sought in the ideas about being and creation through the Logos ... in the writings of Athanasius and other fourth-century Eastern thinkers. For it is possible to draw a distinction between those philosophical theologies that have interpreted death as the result of guilt and sin and those philosophical theologies that have tended to see death as the consequence of transiency and impermanence.

sence of Augustinian influence on Greek Christian thought. Augustine's *Confessions*, by all accounts the first psychological autobiography, was unknown in Byzantium. Augustine greatly influenced the Western idea of the self. One could even say he created it. If Augustine had not considered himself important enough to occupy several hundred autobiographical pages, Luther could not have become "the first man who ever consciously used his consciousness; or what was later called his personality,"¹² and modern poets could not have begun the agonizing attempt to assert their own egos on the literary landscape in what Harold Bloom has called the "Anxiety of Influence."¹³ Byzantium shared neither the heightened sense of individualism which Augustine bestowed on the West nor the anxiety which such individualism causes. It is noteworthy that the modern view of the individual so prevalent in the West is the intellectual child of Augustine's *Confessions*, which was not one of the more widely read parts of the Augustinian corpus until the Renaissance. It was then that the *Confessions* began to attain the status it now holds as one of Augustine's two most influential works, along with the *City of God*. The popularity of the *Confessions* increased in the West as individualism became more prominent in Western culture.

Heightened self-consciousness causes an anxiety that Augustine resolves with the hope that the individual will ultimately be absorbed into a divine monad:

In hoc cognoscimus quia diligimus Filium Dei: filios Dei dixit, qui Filium Dei paulo ante dicebat; quia filii Dei corpus sunt unici Filii Dei; et cum ille caput, nos membra, unus est Filius Dei. Ergo qui diligit filios Dei, Filium Dei diligit; et qui diligit Filium Dei, Patrem diligit: nec potest quisquam diligere Patrem, nisi diligit Filium; et qui diligit Filium, diligit et filios Dei. Quos filios Dei? Membra Filii Dei. Et diligendo fit et ipse membrum, et fit per dilectionem in compage corporis Christi; et erit unus Christus amans seipsum. Cum enim se invicem amant membra, corpus se amat.¹⁴

[In this we know that we love the Son of God. He said, "the sons of God," although he was speaking just before of the Son of God, because the sons of God are the Body of the Only Son of God, and when He is the Head, we the members, it is one Son of God. Thus, he that loves the sons of God, loves the Son of God, and he that loves the Son of God, loves the Father; nor can any love the Father except he love the Son, and he that loves the sons, loves also the Son of God. What sons

¹² G. K. Chesterton, *St. Thomas Aquinas: The Dumb Ox*, 194.

¹³ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*.

¹⁴ *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos tractatus* 20.3.

of God? The members of the Son of God. And through loving he himself becomes a member, and comes through love to be in the frame of the body of Christ, so there shall be one Christ, loving Himself. For when the members love one another, the body loves itself.]

Here I am writing of Augustine's poetics rather than his dogmatics in concluding that he had a tendency to speak of the absorption of the self into the Godhead. It would not be difficult to find any number of proof-texts from Augustine's writings to show that he firmly believed in the continued, eternal existence of the individual; but statements such as "et erit unus Christus amans seipsum" do indicate a longing for the loss of self, for the identity of each individual to melt into a single, impersonal type of love.

Augustine's longing for the dissolution of the self is one aspect of his work which has never been accepted as church doctrine, but such quasi-pantheism has always existed as a strong undercurrent in Catholic mystical theology. St. John of the Cross expresses a similar desire for the soul's absorption into divine love in the stanza:

Haze tal obra el amor
después que le conoci
que si hay bien o mal en mi
todo lo haze de un sabor
y al alma transforma en sí
y así en su llama sabrosa
la qual en mí estoy sintiendo
apriessa sin quedar cosa,
todo me voy consumiendo.¹⁵
[Since I have known it
love does such work
that whether there is good or bad in me
love turns all to one sweetness
transforming the soul in itself.
And so in its delighting flame
which I feel within me,
swiftly, nothing remains,
and I am entirely consumed.]

Neither John of the Cross nor most Western Christian mystics would have overtly endorsed any form of pantheism,¹⁶ but the image of divine

¹⁵ San Juan de la Cruz, *Poesía*, 273, "Sin arrimo y con arrimo . . .," stanza 4.

¹⁶ Describing the mysticism of Augustine and his followers, Evelyn Underhill writes, "Over and over again they assure us that personality is not lost, but made more real" (*Mysticism*, 420).

love as an all-consuming fire which transforms the soul into itself cannot be explained away. Such imagery indicates a desire to transcend the self which resonates throughout St. John's poetry and the work of like-minded Western mystics.

If the erasure of personal identity represented an ecstatic experience of divine love to Western mystics such as Augustine and John of the Cross, any religious idea which even suggested a blurring of personal boundaries was deeply disturbing to the typical Byzantine. The most famous example of such a doctrine is the *filioque*, a doctrine originating in the writings of Augustine which eventually found its way into the Western version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Creed, in its original form, states that the Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father," to which the Western Church has added *filioque*, "and from the Son." The Eastern Church has always rejected the *filioque* on the grounds that altering the Creed is unjustified and that the doctrine itself is incorrect. It was first declared dogmatically at the Third Council of Toledo in 589, and it was a central issue in the conflict between Patriarch Photios of Constantinople and Pope Nicholas I that the West refers to as the Photian Schism.¹⁷ The following passage from Augustine's *De Trinitate* was the chief weapon in the Western arsenal of patristic quotations in defense of the *filioque*:

Deinde in illa summa Trinitate quae Deus est, intervalla temporum nulla sunt, per quae possit ostendi aut saltem requiri, utrum prius de Patre natus sit Filius, et postea de ambobus processerit Spiritus sanctus. Quoniam Scriptura sancta Spiritum eum dicit amborum. Ipse est enim de quo dicit Apostolus, Quoniam autem estis filii, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda vestra (Galat. IV, 6): et ipse est de quo dicit idem Filius, Non enim vos estis qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis (Matth. X, 20). Et multis aliis divinorum eloquiorum testimoniis comprobatur Patris et Filii esse Spiritum, qui proprie dicitur in Trinitate Spiritus sanctus: de quo item dicit ipse Filius, Quem ego mittam vobis a Patre (Joan. XV, 26); et alio loco, Quem mittet Pater in nomine meo (Id. XIV, 26). De utroque autem procedere [col. 1093] sic docetur; quia ipse Filius ait, De Patre procedit. Et cum resurrexisset a mortuis et apparuisset discipulis suis, insufflavit et ait, Accipite Spiritum sanctum (Joan. XX, 22), ut eum etiam de se procedere ostenderet. Et ipsa est virtus quae de illo exibat, sicut legitur in Evangelio, et sanabat omnes (Luc. VI, 19). (15.26)

[Furthermore, in that highest Trinity which is God, there are no intervals of time, by which it could be shown, or at least inquired, whether the Son was born of the Father first and then afterward the Holy Spirit

¹⁷ Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend*.

proceeded from both; since Holy Scripture calls him the Spirit of both. For it is he of whom the apostle says, "But because you are sons, God has sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts": and it is he of whom the same Son says, "For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you." And it is proved by many other testimonies of the divine Word, that the Spirit, who is specifically called in the Trinity the Holy Spirit, is of the Father and of the Son: of whom the Son himself also says, "Whom I will send to you from the Father"; and elsewhere, "Whom the Father will send in my name." And we are so taught that he proceeds from both, because the Son himself says, "he proceeds from the Father." And when he had risen from the dead, and had appeared to his disciples, "He breathed upon them, and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' so as to show that he proceeded also from him, and is that very "power that went out from him," as we read in the Gospel, "and healed them all."

In the Greek Orthodox tradition, which remained uninfluenced by Augustinian thought, the procession of the Spirit from the Son was regarded as pertaining to God's energies (or activities, to use a term that may be more intelligible to the English-speaker) and not to his essence. Thus, the Holy Spirit's earthly activities do proceed from Christ, but the Spirit's Heavenly being (essence) proceeds from the Father alone. Since Latin Christendom accepted no such distinction between divine energies and the divine essence, however, discussion of the matter was doubly complicated and twice doomed to futility. It is precisely the "Palamite distinction" between essence and energies that prevented Greek Christians from ever developing the type of quasi-panteism which we have seen in Augustine and later Western mystics before or after St. Gregory Palamas gave the doctrine its final and most explicit expression.

"When thinking about the Trinity, Latins started with the unity of the Godhead, Greeks with the threeness of the persons," writes Timothy Ware.¹⁸ To Latin readers, therefore, Augustine's doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son was not as problematic as it was to a Greek audience. To Greeks, who placed great importance on the idea that each member of the Trinity had a unique and specific function, the *filioque* seemed to confuse the properties of the Son with those of the Father. Western writers almost universally fail to see the great significance of this doctrine for the Greeks and tend to dismiss Greek objections to the *filioque* as mere cantankerousness and petty fault-finding. Aquinas's remarks are typical:

¹⁸ *Orthodox Church*, 48.

Etiam ipsi Graeci processionem Spiritus Sancti aliquem ordinem habere ad Filium intelligunt. Concedunt enim Spiritum Sanctum esse *Spiritum Filii*, et esse a Patre *per Filium*. Et quidem eorum dicuntur concedere quod *sit a Filio*, vel *profluat ab eo*: non tamen quod procedat. Quod videtur vel ex ignorantia, vel ex protervia esse. (*ST* 1, q.36, a.2, resp.)

[Even the Greeks themselves understand that the procession of the Holy Spirit is ordered somehow with respect to the Son, because they concede that the Holy Spirit is the "Spirit of the Son" and that he is from the Father "through the Son." Some of them also are said to concede that he "is from the Son," or that he "flows from the Son." This is apparently out of ignorance or wantonness.]

Relying on what the Greeks "are said to concede," rather than finding out what they actually say, Aquinas disregards their objections to the *filioque* as "ignorance or wantonness," although a culturally sensitive study reveals that the Western doctrine compromised ideas which the Greeks believed were at the very heart of monotheism itself. The Neo-Hellenist Philip Sherrard admirably summarizes the Greek position: "The unique source of all divinity is the unbegotten Father."¹⁹ That all divinity, and hence everything that exists, has one absolutely undivided, unoriginate source in God the Father is fundamental to Orthodox Christianity. Without such a notion of the Father's monarchy, monotheism would have been inconceivable to a Byzantine Christian. "Monarchy" here is meant in the sense of "one origin." Westerners, in accepting the *filioque*, seemed to the Greeks to be introducing a second source of being into the Trinity, and thereby introducing the notion of a second origin of the created universe.

Byzantines generally insisted on doctrines that clearly articulate separate personal identities both among the members of the Trinity and between human beings and God. In a way, this insistence could be interpreted as the expression of a strong individualism which may seem odd in light of the general Eastern tendency to emphasize cosmic redemption over individual salvation. However, the desire of the Western mystics to transcend their personal identity presupposes a stronger sense of individualism than is found in most of Byzantine culture. Heightened self-consciousness and the corresponding psychological need to transcend the self are the products of a greater individualism than is normally found in the Christian East.

Scholarios was heavily influenced by both the Eastern Athanasian and the Western Augustinian traditions, as we shall see in the remainder of this chapter. Throughout his life, he maintained a pessimistic, Augustinian view of human nature, but his trinitarian thought was quite characteristically

¹⁹ Philip Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West*, 62.

Eastern, especially in the period of his maturity when he took over the anti-Unionist mantle from the late Mark of Ephesos.

SCHOLARIOS'S ANTHROPOLOGY

The passage in which Scholarios not only echoes Augustine's concept of Original Sin, but goes beyond it to advocate Scotus's doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, is as follows:

Ἡ δὲ παναγία παρθένος τῷ μὲν ἐκ σπέρματος γεγενῆσθαι τῆς προγονικῆς ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἂν ἀμέτοχος ἦν, καίτοι τῶν γονέων ἀπαρβαλῆτων ὄντων ἐς ἀρετὴν, μετεῖχον δὲ κακείνοι τοῦ κλήρου· ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καθάπαξ αὐτὴν ἀπήλλαξεν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ χωρὶς ἐγένετο σπέρματος, ἵνα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσει πάντη καθαρὰν ὑπόσχη τὴν σάρκα. Ὅθεν ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένη καθάπαξ τῆς προγονικῆς ἐνοχῆς καὶ ποινῆς καὶ μόνῃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τουτὶ λαβοῦσα τὸ δῶρον, ἀνεπίβατον καὶ τοῖς νέφεσι τῶν λογισμῶν ἔσχε παντάπασιν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ σαρκὶ καὶ ψυχῇ θεῖον οὕτω γέγονε τέμενος. (1:501)

[If the all-holy virgin had been born through sperm, she would not have been without participation in ancestral sin. Even though her parents were irreproachable in virtue, they, too, shared in the inheritance, but, once for all, the grace of God made her exempt just as if she had been born without sperm, in order to keep her flesh entirely pure for the Incarnation of the Word of God. Therefore, as she was made exempt once and for all from ancestral guilt and punishment, taking this gift alone among all mankind, she had a soul totally inaccessible to things that cloud reasoning, and she became a divine temple in body and soul.]

To see just how dissonant Scholarios's opinion is from Orthodox tradition, we may turn now to the full quote from the ninth-century pillar of Orthodoxy, Photios, condemning the ideas of inherited sin as well as *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Δύσεως τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα νενοσηκότας* (*Bibl.* 177) [those from the West who are ill with this sickness]. It is very unlikely that he knew that St. Augustine was a proponent of such a doctrine.²⁰ Rather, he attributes the "heresy," as he calls it, to a certain Aram, author of five books on the topic which were condemned by Theodore of Mopsuestia. The context in which Photios express his views is the description of Theodore's book in chapter 177 of the *Library*. Photios writes:

²⁰ Photios does mention Augustine and other Western fathers in *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* 66–72 but does not go into detail on their doctrines and it is not clear that he was familiar with their work.

Ἔστι δὲ τὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φάναι, ταῦτα· Φύσει, καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ, παίειν φασι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, φύσει δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐν ἣ κατὰ πρῶτας δημιουργηθεὶς ὑπέστη ὁ Ἀδὰμ (ἐκείνην γὰρ ἀγαθὴν ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ποίημα οὐσάν φάσιν), ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐκείνην ἣν ὕστερον ἁμαρτήσας ἐκλήρωσατο, τῇ περὶ τὸ κακὸν πράξει καὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ κακὴν τε ἀντ' ἀγαθῆς ἑαυτῷ καὶ θνητὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀθανάτου ἀλλαξάμενος· ταύτῃ τοι καὶ φύσει γεγονότας κακοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὑποστῆναι φύσει πρότερον ἀγαθοῦς, ἐν τῇ φύσει, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει, κεκτῆσθαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Δεύτερον ἀκόλουθον αὐτοῖς λέγειν μηδὲ τὰ παῖδια, καὶ ἀρτιγέννητα ἦ, μὴ ἀπηλλάχθαι ἁμαρτίας, ἅτε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ παραβάσεως τῆς φύσεως ἐν ἁμαρτίας ὑποστάσης, καὶ εἰς πᾶν τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου γένος τῆς ἁμαρτωλῆς (ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν ἐκεῖνοι) φύσεως παρατεينوμένης. (*Bibl.* 177)

[The tenets of their heresy, to summarize, are these: They say that men fall not by their reasoning but by their nature. They do not mean the nature in which Adam subsisted when he was first created (for they say this was the good creation of a good God), but that which he later inherited on account of sin, having exchanged good for evil and the immortal for the mortal by his own evil action. Therefore, [they say], having first been good by nature, men became evil, and it is by nature and not by choice that men acquire sin. Secondly, they go on to say that not even children, not even newborns, are exempt from sin. This is so, according to them, because nature subsists in sin on account of Adam's transgression, and the sinful nature, as they would call it, extends to the entire race which comes from him.]

Thus we see that the doctrine of Original Sin, a cornerstone of Western theology, was viewed as a "sickness" and a "heresy" by one of the East's most important theologians. That Photios does not mention Augustine in his condemnation of this doctrine, which he rightly states was common in the West, indicates that he really knew very little about the North African saint and that what mention of him there is in his work is mere name-dropping. It is unmistakable that the doctrine Photios attacks is identical to that of Augustine, right down to the conclusion that even newborn babies are guilty of Adam's sin.²¹ It is all the more remarkable how vehemently Photios attacks the Western view of sin given that the authority he cites in favor of his own views is Theodore of Mopsuestia, a Nestorian regarded as a heretic by the Orthodox Church. The Nestorian Schism, dating back to the Council of Ephesus in 431, was, in Photios's time, the longest-standing division among Christians, yet Photios still believed that a Nes-

²¹ *Nemo mundus a peccato coram te, nec infans cuius est unius diei vita super terram. (Confessions 1.7.11)* [No one is pure of sin before you, not even an infant with but one day of life on earth.]

torian was better than a "heretic" who believed in Original Sin. He concludes the chapter by saying of Theodore, "Ἔοικε δὲ φιλοπονώτερον περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἡμῶν καὶ θείαν Γραφὴν διατεθῆναι, εἰ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς παρασύρεται τῆς ἀληθείας (ibid.). [He appears diligently disposed toward our sacred Scripture even if he strays from the truth in many matters.]

In the passage where Scholarios argues in favor of the Immaculate Conception, he wholeheartedly embraces everything we have just heard his distant predecessor Photios condemn. Scholarios uses terms like *προγονικὴ ἐνοχή* "ancestral guilt," and *προγονικὴ ἁμαρτία* "ancestral sin," expressing concepts clearly repugnant to Photios. That Scholarios believed sin was accounted to man by nature and not by reasoning or choice is apparent in his statement that Sts. Joachim and Anna, "though irreproachable in virtue ... nonetheless shared in the inheritance." Scholarios writes of sin as a *κλήρος* while Photios, using a word derived from the same root, denounces the teaching that sin was "inherited," *ἐκληρώσατο*.

Photios was one of Byzantium's most influential theologians, and the disparity between his anthropology and Scholarios's helps us understand the degree to which Scholarios was influenced by Western Augustinian ideologies. The fact that it was possible for a theologian as prominent as Scholarios to take a position so out of sync with most of the Byzantine tradition indicates the degree of Western influence on much of Byzantine culture, especially religion, in Scholarios's time. The contrast between the views of Scholarios and those of Photios, which represent the position of the Orthodox Church throughout most of its history, is all the more remarkable when we bear in mind that Scholarios was known as one of the more staunchly anti-Western Byzantine thinkers.²²

Even before Photios and before any hint of schism between East and West, the two cultures had developed incompatible ideas about the nature of sin. It is difficult to find in the Eastern fathers any suggestion that guilt is attributed to humanity automatically on account of Adam's sin. Rather, Greek patristic accounts of the fall and its subsequent effect on humanity emphasize the belief that human beings become sinful by consciously imitating Adam. A reader like Scholarios, who assumed that an Augustinian interpretation of scripture was correct and in accord with the tenets of Eastern Orthodoxy, would only very rarely find in the Eastern fathers an explicit condemnation of the Western position but would frequently come

²² According to Jugie's chronology (8. app. 4.16–19), the *Sermon on the Annunciation* dates from 1464, well into the period of Scholarios's maturity when his opposition to the West was firmly established.

across passages in their works that could only awkwardly be forced to agree with Augustine. Consider the following passage from John Chrysostom's commentary on Genesis in light of the excerpts from Scholarios and Photios given above:

ἡμαρτον μὲν οἱ πρότερον καὶ διὰ τῆς οἰκείας παρακοῆς τὴν δουλείαν εἰσῆγαγον, εἰσαχθεῖσαν δὲ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ταῖς παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκύρωσαν ἁμαρτίαις. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχοιεν ἑαυτοὺς δεῖξαι διὰ παντός ἁμαρτημάτων ὄντας καθαροὺς, οἱ ἐξῆς ἂν δοκοῖεν ἀντιλέγειν.²³ εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοῖς εἰσιν ἐπιτιμίοις ὑπεύθυνοι, περιττὰ τὰ τῆς ἀντιλογίας ταύτης ἐστίν. (*In Gen.* 5.1)

[The first people sinned and through their own disobedience introduced slavery, which, once it was introduced, was then ratified by people of later times through their own sins. If they had been able to show themselves altogether sinless, those who came later would have been able to object; but, if they themselves are subject to numerous penalties, the matters pertaining to the objection are irrelevant.]

Chrysostom's view is that every person becomes culpable through his or her sins without being inherently condemned on account of the sin of Adam. However, unlike Photios, he does not find it necessary to polemicize against the notion of inherited guilt, and therefore it is understandable that a reader predisposed to find a patristic consensus might overlook the discrepancy between Chrysostom's thought and Augustine's. Scholarios was more deeply indebted to Augustine than to the Eastern fathers, and he seems to have overlooked the differences between East and West on this crucial anthropological issue and simply reiterated the Augustinian position as developed by Scotus without reflecting on how incompatible such Latin ideas were with the works of Orthodox theologians as important as Photios and Chrysostom. More characteristically Eastern thinkers than Scholarios, such as Mark Eugenikos, were not sufficiently versed in Western theology to understand what Augustine and other Western thinkers actually taught. Here it is likely that the assumption of a patristic consensus impeded the examination of major differences between what the Latin and Byzantine churches taught about human nature.

²³ The text here is somewhat obscure and probably corrupt, but the meaning is evident nonetheless. For a discussion of the textual problems see John Chrysostom, *Sermons sur la Genèse*, ed. Laurence Brottier, 252–53.

THE CREATION OF EVE

While Scholarios went beyond Aquinas in his praise of the Second Eve, his opinions on the first Eve were largely identical to Aquinas's own. Throughout the history of biblical exegesis, the story of Eve's creation out of Adam's rib has been subject to an astonishing range of interpretations. Philo of Alexandria had a bluntly misogynistic view: "Why was woman made after man? First, because woman is inferior to man."²⁴ Thomas Aquinas interprets the passage quite a bit differently:

Respondeo dicendum quod conveniens fuit formari de costa viri. Primo quidem, ad significandum quod inter virum et mulierem debet esse socialis coniunctio. Neque enim mulier debet dominari in virum; et ideo non est formata de capite. Neque debet a viro despici, tanquam serviliter subiecta: et ideo non est formata de pedibus. (*ST* 1, q.92, a.3, resp.)

[I respond that it was appropriate for woman to be formed from man. In the first place, this signifies that there should be a communal bond between man and woman. Woman should not control the man, and for this reason she was not created from his head. Neither should she be despised by the man as a servile subject, and for this reason she was not formed from his feet.]

The Angelic Doctor's doctrine of prelapsarian gender equality was not without qualification, however:

Duplex est subiectio. Una servilis, secundum quam praesidens utitur subiectio ad sui ipsius utilitatem: et talis subiectio introducta est post peccatum. Est autem alia subiectio oeconomica vel civilis, secundum quam praesidens utitur subiectis ad eorum utilitatem et bonum. Et ista subiectio fuisset etiam ante peccatum: defuisset enim bonum ordinis in humana multitudine, si quidam per alios sapientiores gubernati non fuissent. Et sic ex tali subiectione naturaliter femina subiecta est viro: quia naturaliter in homine magis abundat discretio rationis. –Nec inaequalitas hominum excluditur per innocentiae statum. (*ST* 1, q.92, a.1, ad 2)

[Subjection is of two sorts. One is servile, whereby a superior uses a subject for his own benefit; and this kind of subjection began after sin. There is another kind of subjection which is called economic or civil, whereby the superior makes use of his subjects for their own benefit and good; and this kind of subjection existed even before sin. For good order would have been wanting in the human family if some were not governed by others wiser than themselves. So by such a kind of subjection woman is naturally subject to man, because in man the discretion of

²⁴ Philo of Alexandria, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 27, trans. Ralph Marcus. This work survives only in an Armenian translation.

reason predominates. Nor is inequality among men excluded by the state of innocence.]

The Scholastic method, with its way of dividing and subdividing the truth into separate categories, introducing conditions and caveats along the way, provides him with the solution he needs to posit the sexes' original equality and their original inequality simultaneously. There are two types of subjection, he says. One existed, and the other did not. Aquinas's schizophrenia on the matter of gender inequality becomes amplified in the work of his disciple Scholarios. In a sermon delivered in the imperial court on the Feast of the Annunciation, Scholarios preached, *ἐκ πλευρᾶς δέ, ὡς ἂν μήτε στασιάζῃ τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν προτείνουσα, μήτε παντάπασιν ὑποπεπτωκός τι φρονοίῃ καὶ χεῖρον ἢ προσῆκε τὴν τοῦ βίου μερῆτιν καὶ κοινωνόν* (1:10) [from the side so that she would neither rebel, proposing equality of honor, nor have the disposition of something subject to him and worse than befits the partner and companion of one's life]. It is not really clear from this passage what state Scholarios had in mind that was neither subjection nor equality of honor. Aquinas's distinction between the two types of subjection is most likely the source of Scholarios's paradoxical argument which states, in effect, that woman was meant to be neither equal nor unequal to man.

Earlier writers in the Eastern tradition had a more positive view of Eve's prelapsarian relationship to Adam. John Chrysostom, for instance, writes:

Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς παρακοῆς ὁμότιμος ἦν τῷ ἀνδρί· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ταύτην διέπλαττεν ὁ Θεὸς οἷς ἐχρῆσατο ῥήμασιν ἐπὶ τῆς διαπλάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρός, τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δημιουργίας τῆς γυναικός. Ὡσπερ γὰρ εἶπεν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ· "Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα" καὶ εἶπεν καὶ "κατ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν", καὶ οὐκ εἶπε· "Γενηθήτω ἄνθρωπος", οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης οὐκ εἶπε· "Γενηθήτω γυνή", ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνταῦθα· "Ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθόν" καὶ οὐκ ἀπλῶς "βοηθόν" ἀλλὰ "κατ' αὐτόν", πάλιν το ὁμότιμον δηλῶν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν χρεῖαν τὰ ἄλογα τὴν τῆς βοηθείας εἰσήγαγε κοινωνίαν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν δούλων νομίσης εἶναι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ὅρα πῶς ποιεῖ τὴν διάκρισιν φανεράν. "Παρήγαγε τὰ θηρία, φησὶν, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Ἀδάμ, καὶ οὐχ εὗρέθη βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ κατ' αὐτόν." ... Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐχ εὗρέθη αὐτῷ βοηθὸς ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι "οὐχ εὗρέθη αὐτῷ βοηθὸς ὅμοιος". οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα· "Ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθόν" οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ "κατ' αὐτόν". (In Gen. 4.504)

For before the disobedience she was equal in honor to man. For when God made her, he used the same words in making woman that he used when making man. He said in reference to him, "Let us make man in our image," and also, "in our likeness." He did not say, "Let there be

man.” Likewise, in reference to her, he did not say, “let there be woman,” but, “Let us make him a helper.” He did not just say “helper,” but added, “of his own kind,” once more indicating the equality of honor. Since he introduced animals to share in helping us in the many necessities of our life, look at what he does to make the distinction clear, so that you should not think that your wife is one of your servants. “He brought the animals,” he said, “before Adam, and there was not found another helper like him, of his own kind.” Now he did not simply say that no helper was found for him, but that, “no helper of his own kind was found for him.” Thus, it does not simply say, “Let us make him a helper,” but adds, “of his own kind.”

The golden-mouthed father becomes rather redundant in making the point that Eve was not created to be in any way inferior to Adam but *ὁμότιμος* to him, using a word directly equivalent to the term *ἰσοτιμία*, which Scholarios says Eve did not have the right to assert. Repetition of terms such as *οὐχ ἀπλῶς* and *οὐκ εἶπε* emphasizes the point that Chrysostom is addressing a misconception his audience has deeply engrained in their minds. He casts himself in the role of an instructor repeating a lesson over and over again to make his students unlearn their mistake. The language of pedagogy is particularly apparent in the phrase “*ὄρα πῶς ...*,” as is the deictic language of the court room.

Ambrosiaster, a Western writer and Chrysostom's younger contemporary, takes the account of Eve's formation as a statement of her inferiority:

Mulieris vero caput idcirco vir est, quia *ex eius costa* Dei virtute formata est... Inferior ergo mulier viro est, portio enim eius est, quia *origo mulieris vir est: ex eo* enim est, ac per hoc obnoxia videtur mulier viro, ut imperio eius subiecta sit.²⁵

[The man is thus the head of the woman, because she was formed by the power of God from his rib. ... Therefore, the woman is inferior to the man because she is a portion of him, for the origin of woman is man. On account of this, it is also seen that woman is obedient to man, since she is subject to his rule.]

The contrast between Ambrosiaster's matter-of-fact style and Chrysostom's repetitive, rhetorical elaborations indicates that Ambrosiaster's views were much closer to those held by a majority of people in patristic times, whereas Chrysostom's were uncommon, requiring that he go to great lengths to persuade his audience.

²⁵ Ambrosiaster, *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinus, Ad Corinthios Prima* 11.3.

Ambrosiaster's *obnoxia* is equivalent to Scholarios's ὑποπεπτωκός. Both can be accurately translated as "subject to," but, in the passage from Ambrosiaster, *obnoxia* has been rendered as "obedient" to distinguish it from *subiecta*, used in the same passage. Scholarios's explicit statement that Eve was not "subject to" Adam shows that his reading is less misogynistic than that of certain other Christian writers. Nonetheless, he did not go as far as some authorities in affirming the fundamental equality of the sexes. It is likely that Scholarios himself did not have a clear idea of what Eve's relationship to Adam really was. If she was not ὑποπεπτωκός τι, the only logical alternative would seem to be that she enjoyed ἰσοτιμίαν, but on this matter Scholarios rejects both logic and the authority of John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, Chrysostom's influence, direct or indirect, can best account for Scholarios's use of the rather harsh term δουλεία in reference to gender relations after the fall.

In summary, Scholarios modifies Chrysostom's teaching of prelapsarian equality and postlapsarian subjugation by adding two Thomist doctrines: that a certain form of subjugation existed even prior to the fall, and that the rib had a special significance as opposed to the other body parts. Both Thomas and Scholarios show the influence of two conflicting exegetical traditions, the one, represented by Ambrosiaster, teaching woman's inferiority, and the other, represented by John Chrysostom, teaching her equality. Thomas's method of reconciling the two doctrines is characteristically systematic, as he enumerates the types of *subiectio* and goes into some detail on the differences between them. Scholarios's method is less logical. He never really explains why being created from man's rib would prevent a woman from either being subjugated or claiming equality. Truly, one would assume that whoever does not have the right to claim equality is, by nature, in a state of subjection, but Scholarios must have been speaking with a Thomist frame of reference in mind and, for whatever reason, neglected to explain the details of it to his audience.

The reader might hope to find some explanation of how Aquinas influenced Scholarios's odd views on this particular matter in Scholarios's extensive corpus of Thomist commentaries, summaries, and translations. The *Quaestio* regarding Eve's creation was indeed one which Scholarios summarized in his Greek version of the *Summa Theologiae*. Scholarios glosses over Thomas's teaching on the two types of subjugation, but he does translate both the passage where Thomas says that man was intended to be the head of woman and the passage which says that she was created from man's rib rather than either the head or the feet so that she would be his companion and not his ruler or his servant (5.469–70). Δοῦλος is the term

Scholarios uses to translate *serviliter subiecta*, the state which creation from the feet rather than the rib would have implied, according to Thomas. Scholarios was almost certainly aware of Thomas's interpretation of Genesis 2:21–22 when he delivered his sermon on the Annunciation in 1437, although his Greek *Summa* dates from a much later part of his career.²⁶ He was already noted as an Aristotelian philosopher, and the interpretations of Aquinas had always been his guiding light.²⁷ It is difficult to imagine who other than Aquinas could have inspired Scholarios to find special significance in the Bible's specific mention of which of Adam's body parts God used in forming Eve. The fathers attach great importance to the doctrine that she was created from his body, but the fact that it was a rib rather than some other body part does not have any special meaning in patristic commentaries.²⁸ The idea that it is Eve's formation from Adam's rib which prevents her from being his "subject" must then be one which Scholarios derived from Aquinas. The Angelic Doctor's motivation in advocating the idea of a twofold subjection, one form being prelapsarian and the other supralapsarian, was probably to maintain a sense of patristic consensus in the face of exegetical passages as contradictory as those we have seen from Ambrosiaster and Chrysostom.

TRINITIES HUMAN AND DIVINE

For all orthodox Christian writers, the notion that Eve's generation from Adam implies her inferiority to him is problematic because, by extension, one would have to make oneself an Arian heretic by concluding that God the Son is inferior to the Father who begets him. Indeed, for many Church fathers, Adam, Eve, and Seth served as a typological model of the Holy Trinity.²⁹ Even Ambrosiaster, so insistent on Eve's inferiority elsewhere,

²⁶ This is following the dating of Martin Jugie (8 app. 16). I follow Jugie's dating consistently unless otherwise noted. There are a few instances where I believe a more precise date can be given than that proposed by Jugie, such as Scholarios's account of the destruction of Plethon's *Book of Laws*, but the chronology of Scholarios's works as drawn out by Jugie is excellent and seldom disputable.

²⁷ Martin Jugie, "Georges Scholarios, professeur de philosophie."

²⁸ Pablo Termes Ros, "La formación de Eva en los Padres Griegos hasta San Juan Crisóstomo inclusive"; "La formación de Eva en los Padres Latinos hasta San Agustín inclusive." Termes Ros has written one of the most thorough studies of the patristic literature on the formation of Eve, although his work is not entirely relevant for our present purposes because his main concern is to examine the doctrine of the Catholic Church in light of the theory of evolution.

²⁹ Termes Ros, "Padres Griegos"; "Padres Latinos."

uses the generation of Eve as a typological model for the generation of God the Son:

Hoc est ad imaginem Dei factum esse hominem, quia unus unum fecit, ut sicut ab uno Deo sunt omnia, ita et *ab uno homine omne genus humanum*. Similitudo autem haec est, ut quemadmodum de Patre est Filius, sic et *de viro mulier*, et unius principii auctoritas conservetur.³⁰

[This is what it means that man was made in the image of God, that one made one, so that just as all things come from one God, so too does the whole human race come from one man. But this is what the likeness means, that just in the same way that the Son comes from the Father, so too does woman come from man, and the authority of one principal is maintained.]

Seth can then be brought into the picture to form a complete, consubstantial trinity, as in the work of Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–367/8):

Aequalitatem perfectam significat similitudo naturae. Quod Moysi similitudo, id Joanni aequalitas.—Praedicantes itaque, Fratres charissimi, similem Filium in omnibus Patri, nihil aliud quam aequalem praedicamus. Perfectae aequalitatis significantiam habet similitudo: et hoc ex sanctis Scripturis intelligendum est. Legimus namque: *Vixit autem Adam ducentis triginta annis, et genuit secundum effigiem suam et secundum similitudinem suam, et cognominavit nomen ejus Seth*. Quaero cujusmodi similitudinem et effigiem suam Adam in Seth genuerit. Tolle corporum infirmitates, tolle conceptus initium, tolle dolores partitudinis, et omnem humanam necessitatem: quaero similitudo haec, quae in Seth est, utrum per naturam dissentiat auctori, aut utrum alterius generis essentia fuerit in utroque, ne non naturalem habuerit Adae Seth natus essentiam. Sed similitudo Adae est, etiamsi negemus; quia non est natura dissimilis. Similitudo autem naturae non habuit in Seth alterius generis naturam, quia non aliunde Seth natus est: ita similitudo res ipsas naturalis coaequat, per similitudinem non indifferentis essentiae. Omnis itaque filius, secundum naturalem nativitatem, aequalitas patris est; quia est et similitudo naturae. Et beatus Joannes docet in natura Patris et Filii, quam Moyses in Seth et Adam similitudinem dicit, hanc eandem aequalitatem esse naturae, ait enim: *Propter hoc eum magis quaerebant Judaei interficere, quoniam non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et patrem suum dicebat Deum, aequalem se faciens Deo*. Quid tantorum virorum doctrinis atque dictis inserimus torpentia peccatis gravibus ingenia, et sensus hebetes atque temerarios adversum indissolubiles praedicationes impii fatigamus? Per Moysen Seth Adae similitudo est, per Joannem Filius Patri aequalis est: et quaerimus tertium nescio quid inter Patrem et Filium, quod natura non recipit. Similis est Pa-

³⁰ Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* CXXVII, 21.

tri, filius Patris est, ex eo natus est: per hoc solum pie potest quod unum sint praedicari.³¹

[Likeness of nature signifies perfect equality. What is likeness for Moses is equality for John. Therefore, beloved brethren, in declaring that the Son is like in all things to the Father, we declare nothing else than that he is equal. Likeness means perfect equality, and this fact we may gather from the Holy Scriptures, *And Adam lived two hundred and thirty years, and begot a son according to his own image and according to his own likeness; and called his name Seth*. I ask what was the nature of his likeness and image which Adam begot in Seth? Remove bodily infirmities, remove the first stage of conception, remove birth-pangs, and every kind of human need. I ask whether this likeness which exists in Seth differs in nature from the author of his being, or whether there was in each an essence of a different kind, so that Seth had not at his birth the natural essence of Adam? No, he had a likeness to Adam, even if we deny it, for his nature was not different. This likeness of nature in Seth was not due to a nature of a different kind, since Seth was begotten from only one father, so we see that a likeness of nature renders things equal because this likeness means an exactly similar essence. Therefore every son by virtue of his natural birth is the equal of his father, in that he has a natural likeness to him. And with regard to the nature of the Father and the Son the blessed John teaches the very likeness which Moses says existed between Seth and Adam, a likeness which is this equality of nature. He says, *Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His father, making Himself equal with God*. Why do we allow minds that are dulled with the weight of sin to interfere with the doctrines and sayings of such holy men, and impiously match our rash though sluggish senses against their impregnable assertions? According to Moses, Seth is the likeness of Adam, according to John, the Son is equal to the Father, yet we seek to find a third impossible something between the Father and the Son. He is like the Father, He is the Son of the Father, he is born of him: because of this alone one may piously preach that they are one.]

The Adam–Eve–Seth model could be used in support of the *filioque*, since Seth comes from both Adam and Eve.³² Scholarios mentions such a

³¹ *Liber de Synodis, seu de Fide Orientalium*, 73.

³² Hugo Eteriano (ca. 1110–1182) is fond of the Adam–Eve–Seth analogy and makes use of it in the anti-Greek polemical work, *De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos devolunt*, addressed to Pope Alexander III. He does not, however, use exactly the same argument that Scholarios refutes, and it is probable that Scholarios exaggerates and parodies the Latin position, mindful as he was of his promise to the dying Mark Eugenikos that he would take over his role as defender of the faith.

Western argument in a treatise of 1444, written shortly after the death of Mark Eugenikos, whereupon he assumed leadership of the antiunionists:³³

Οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι τὴν τάξιν τῶν θείων προσώπων οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς ἐνυπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ιδιότητος εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἀξίωμα, οὗ χάριν ἀεὶ προτέτακται τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ τὸ αἶτιον· ὅθεν τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγουσιν ἔσχατον εἶναι, ὃ μὴδαμῶς τοῦ τῆς αἰτίας ἀξιώματος μέτεστιν ἔνδον τῇ θεότητι, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν τάττουσι μέσον ὡς οὐκ ἀνεπίμικτον ἔχοντα τὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἰδίωμα, τὸν δὲ Πατέρα προτάττουσι ὡς εἰλικρινῶς αἶτιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πατήρ, φασίν, αἴτιος ἐστὶ μόνον, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα αἰτιατὸν μόνον, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς καὶ αἴτιος ὁμοῦ καὶ αἰτιατὸς ὁ αὐτός, τὸ μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, τὸ δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἀποβλέψει. Καὶ ὑποδείγμασι βεβαιοῦντες ταύτην τὴν θέσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις συλλογισμοῖς, φασί, θάτερον μὲν τῶν ἄκρων κατηγορούμενον ἐστὶ, θάτερον δὲ ὑποκείμενον· τῷ δὲ μέσῳ καὶ αἱ ἐκατέρου τῶν ἄκρων ἐνυπάρχουσιν ιδιότητες, καὶ κατηγορεῖται τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπόκειται· ἢ καθάπερ ὁ Σὴθ γέγονε μὲν ἐξ Ἀδάμ, γεγέννηκε δὲ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἐνῶς· ἢ καθάπερ ἡ Εὐὰ γεγέννηται μὲν πως ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, προήγαγε δὲ αὐτὴ τὸν Σὴθ. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοῖς θείοις ἀρμόττειν πράγμασιν, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν σύνδεσιν καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὧν ἄνευ τὸ θεῖον ἐστὶ (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν κτιστῶν λαμβανομένοις ὑποδείγμασιν σύνεστιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἤττον αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας φανέρωσιν, ἐν τῇ δι’ ὃ παραλαμβάνεται προστιέμενοι, τᾶλλα δὲ ἀπωδούμενοι), ἀλλὰ δι’ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο δι’ ὃ παραλαμβάνεσθαι οἰκείως δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἀνοικείως ἔχει, τουτέστι διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέσου τάξιν ἀνομοίως ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν προκειμένων παντάπασιν ἔχουσιν, οἷον εὐδὺς ἐν τῷ συλλογισμῷ ἔνωσις ἐστὶν ὁ μέσος ὅρος καὶ αἴτιος τοῦ τὸν συλλογισμόν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μείζω τῶν ἄκρων ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν. Ἐδει δ’ ἂν οὕτω καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν αἶτιον ὑπάρχειν τῆς μακαρίας Τριάδος ὡς δὴ σύνδεσμόν τινα ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἄκρων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ἐνότητος ποιητικόν· ἀλλ’ εἰς τοῦναντίον ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριος ἐν γὰρ τῷ συντακτηρίῳ λόγῳ φησί· “Φύσις δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ μίᾳ· ἔνωσις δὲ ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὃν ἀναγονται τὰ ἐξῆς, οὐχ ὡς συναλείφεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔχουσιν”. Καὶ αὖτις ἐν τῷ περὶ θεολογίας καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων· “Τηροῖτο δ’ ἂν, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, εἰς μὲν Θεὸς εἰς ἐν αἶτιον Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἀναφερομένων”. (2:143)

[The Latins say that the order of the divine persons comes not from the sequence of their names and the property inherent in them, but through the quality of the cause, on account of which the cause is always placed before the caused. Hence, they say that the Spirit is last because he in no way shares in the quality of causality within the godhead. They place the Son as an intermediary because he does not have the property of causal-

³³ Gill, *Personalities*, 64.

ity unmixed, and the Father they place foremost as the true cause. The Father, they say, is only a cause, whereas the Spirit is only caused. The Son, on the other hand, is at once cause and caused, the latter in reference to the Father and the former in reference to the Spirit. They affirm this position with examples. As is the case with perfect syllogisms, they say, one of the extremes is the predicate and the other the subject. The properties of both extremes are inherent in the intermediary; the same is both predicate and subject. This happens just as Seth was both begotten by Adam and begot Enos, or as Eve was begotten in a way from Adam and produced Seth. Now all of these things are impossible to apply to divine matters. I do not say this just because the divine is without matter, composition, and time. For the same is true of all examples taken from created things, but, nonetheless, we use them to clarify the truth, going toward whatever helps us ascertain it, and repelling whatever does not. Rather, the very thing by which it may seem truth can be most appropriately ascertained is, quite to the contrary, most inappropriate. Namely, the order in which the intermediary is placed is completely unequal both in reference to these examples [Adam, Eve, and Seth] and to the matter at hand [the divine persons]. Just as in a syllogism, the intermediary term is the unifying element and that which makes something a syllogism. Therefore, it has greater power than the extremes. It would be necessary in this case for the Son to be the cause of the blessed Trinity, because he would be a bond between the two extremes and the maker of the unity among the three. But in contradiction to this, the great theologian Gregory [of Nazianzus] says in his Assembly Speech, "There is one nature common to the three. The Father is the union, from whom and to whom the others are raised up, not being coalesced, but being sustained." Likewise in the discourse on theology and the episcopate, "Let the doctrine be held, in accordance with what I say, that there is one God and that the Son and the Spirit refer to one cause."

He is not, of course, criticizing syllogistic reasoning per se in this passage, but merely pointing out a fault in the reasoning of his Western opponents.³⁴ He does, nonetheless, convey a sense that the West's excessive reliance on logic is inappropriate in matters of theology. This sense is heightened by his final appeal to the authority of St. Gregory the Theologian, quotations from whom are strategically placed after the rational refutation of his opponents' argument. First, he attempts to persuade the reader that,

³⁴ Mark Eugenikos of Ephesos wrote a treatise *Kephalai syllogistika pros latinous* [Syllogistic chapters against the Latins]. His use both of this title and of the syllogism itself demonstrates how difficult it is to substantiate stereotypes of Byzantine "irrationalism."

for all his Western foes' reliance on human reason, they aren't even very good at it. Then he quotes a revered patristic authority as if to say, "But what do syllogisms matter anyway compared to the teachings of the fathers?"

The preceding quotation is not uncharacteristic of Scholarios's style. Lengthy, complex periods are typical of his learned treatises, if less so of his letters. However, one cannot help getting the impression that there is a certain irony lurking beneath the convoluted syntax of his passage, as if he is presenting the idea in as obtuse a manner as possible to emphasize the contrivedness of his adversaries' position. This impression becomes stronger still when we contrast his circuitous account of the Latin argument with the succinct quotations from St. Gregory. The rhetorical effect of this passage, then, is that truth is simple and clear while falsehood is confusing, superficially clever, and difficult to unravel. The basic point of the quotation from Gregory is to refute the idea, common in the West, that God's essence is what gives the godhead its unity. Such an idea is absent from Byzantine trinitarianism, and Scholarios here advocates the traditional Eastern idea that the cause of divine unity is the monarchy of the Father.

DIVINE JUSTICE AND DIVINE MERCY

We have seen in our section on Athanasios that an influential school of thought within Orthodox exegesis views human suffering not as punishment inflicted by an angry God but as the inevitable consequence of man's turning away from God despite God's love for mankind. The Athanasian view of sin and its consequences was shared by the Cappadocian Fathers and has exercised a profound influence on Orthodox spirituality through them as well as through Athanasios directly. Legal imagery and metaphors are typically less common in Eastern Christianity than Western, and one result of the predominance of the legal concept of salvation in the West was the development of an intricate dogmatic system explaining humanity's redemption as a judicial procedure, which found its definitive expression in Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur Deus Homo*. The problem which prompted Anselm to write this treatise did not really trouble the Greeks, however. Anselm's motivation was to debunk the belief, then prevalent in Latin Christianity, that Christ's sacrifice was made to Satan.³⁵ Such a concept began with Origen, but it did not become widespread in the East. Gregory of

³⁵ Anselm's refutations of this theory are found in *Cur Deus Homo* 1.8. For a very thorough and insightful study of the significance of Anselm's new concept of the atonement, see Southern, *St. Anselm*, 206–11.

Nyssa shared it, at least in the early years before he largely renounced Origen. Anselm's doctrine, which has become the official position of the Roman Catholic Church, was that Christ's sacrifice was made to God the Father rather than to Satan. The question of who received the sacrifice had occurred to the Byzantines, but they were not preoccupied with it. Gregory of Nazianzos's reluctance to dogmatize on the topic is typical of the Christian East. He mentions in his Paschal Oration that Satan and God the Father were both sometimes put forth as possibilities.³⁶ To the former suggestion, he scornfully exclaims *φεῦ τῆς ὑβρεως* (Sermon 45.22) [O, the blasphemy], and to the second, he responds that a God who would not even accept the blood of Isaac would certainly not accept that of his own Son.³⁷ He adds a comment showing just how different his view of mankind's fall was from Anselm's, *Εἰ μὲν τῷ Πατρί, πρῶτον μὲν πῶς Οὐχ ὑπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐκρατούμεθα* (ibid.). [If it (Christ's sacrifice) was to the Father, first tell me how this is so? For it was not by him that we were defeated.] The idea of the Father demanding satisfaction for the insult to his honor does not even occur to him. Concluding a fairly short digression on the problem, he advocates an attitude of reverent silence characteristic of his stance on so many issues and of the apophatic theology for which he is known: *Τὰ μὲν δὴ Χριστοῦ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ πλείω σιγῇ σεβέσθω* (ibid.). [Let these and other things pertaining to Christ be revered in silence.] Gregory's silence reveals that he did not believe the issue was urgent. After all, apophatic mystic that he may have been, he could also be painstakingly cataphatic when the need for doctrinal precision arose, as in the Arian controversy. What we can learn from his silence, and that of his fellow Byzantines throughout most of the empire's history, on this matter is that God's justice was not so significantly important in comparison to his other attributes as to merit an elaborate doctrinal system explaining how it functioned. The dichotomy between justice and mercy is seldom mentioned by early Byzantines even as a homiletic device. In Western theology, in contrast, there arose a tendency to view divine justice and divine mercy as mutually opposed attributes of God the coexistence of which demanded a complex theological explanation. Thomas Aquinas devotes an entire *quaestio* of the *Summa Theologiae* to it (1 q.21). The crisis was ultimately forced to its breaking point in the West when Martin Luther devised a system in which God damned many in his justice and saved a few in his mercy but could never be

³⁶ Gregory of Nazianzos, Sermon 45.22.

³⁷ *Οὐδὲ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἐδέξατο* (ibid.) [He did not even accept Isaac (as a sacrifice)].

both just and merciful to the same person. The idea that mercy and justice are dichotomously opposed attributes of God is expressed by Scholarios in a piece written before the fall of Constantinople, in which he ponders the likelihood that his city will be taken by the Turks: Ὁμὴ γένοιτο, θεὲ βασιλεῦ, μηδὲ φάνηθι μᾶλλον ἡμῖν δίκαιος δικαστὴς ἢ φιλόανθρωπος πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης (1:303). [May this not happen, O God and king, and may you not show yourself to us as a just judge rather than a loving father and ruler.] After the city had been taken, however, Scholarios sought to reconcile justice and mercy as different aspects of God's love:

Οὐ τὸ πατρικόν σου περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐψυχράνθη φίλτρον, ἀλλ' ὁ καπνὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν τὴν πηγὴν ἡμῖν ἀνεστόμωσε τῆς σῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας, καὶ ὅλη καθ' ἡμῶν ἡ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔρρειψε πλάστιγξ, καὶ ὁ ταῖς πολλαῖς καὶ ἀναριθμήτοις ὑψώσας πρότερον δωρεαῖς, νῦν λίαν ἐλεεινῶς ἐταπεινώσας. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι σὺν δίκῃ τεταπεινώμεθα· εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὅτι οὕτως ἐταπεινώθημεν, ὅτι μὴ καταποντισμῷ καὶ πυρὶ διώλεσας ἄρδην ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῆς αἰωνίου πανωλεθρίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ὀδύναις ταύτῃ ζῶν ὑπόθεις ἡμῖν ἐπανορθώσεως δέδωκας. (4:222)

[It is not that your paternal love toward us grew cold, but that the smoke of our sins overflowed the well of your compassion, and the scourge of your justice came down on us. You who exalted us with so many unnumbered gifts before now quite mercifully humbled us. We confess that we have been humbled justly, and we thank you that you have humbled us thus, so as not to destroy us by drowning and fire as a sure and palpable sign of eternal destruction. Rather, you have given us this distressful life as an occasion for being made right.]

Scholarios does not arrive at a systematic reconciliation of divine love and divine mercy, but it is clear that he was trying to find a way to conceive of them working together. His writings from before the fall of Constantinople convey the sense that God can be either just or merciful, but not both simultaneously. Intellectually, he realized that, as Thomas Aquinas taught, divine justice and divine mercy work together in all things;³⁸ but he still tended to speak of God as “loving Father” or as “just judge” but not as both at the same time. Yet he survived the collapse of his civilization with his faith intact, and it was then necessary for him to find how God's love could still be with a people whom God had, in Scholarios's opinion, punished as a just judge. Scholarios must have found comfort in Augustine's admonition to the Christians of Rome after the city had been sacked:

³⁸ “Utrum in omnibus operibus Dei sit misericordia et iustitia” (ST 1, q.21, a.4) [whether mercy and justice are both present in all God's works].

Et tamen quod vivitis, Dei est; qui vobis parcendo admonet, ut corrigamini poenitendo; qui vobis etiam ingratitis praestitit, ut vel sub nomine servorum ejus, vel in locis martyrum ejus hostiles manus evaderetis. (*De Civ. D.* 1.34)

[It is thanks to God that you are still alive: to God Who, in sparing you, warns you to correct yourselves by repentance. Ungrateful as you are, He has allowed you to escape the hands of your enemy either under the name of his servants or in the sanctuaries of his martyrs.]³⁹

Scholarios's prayer to God after the sack of Constantinople, "you have given us this distressful life as an occasion for being made right," is likely an allusion to Augustine's reference to "God Who, in sparing you, warns you to correct yourselves by repentance." The parallel between the two passages is noteworthy considering the similar circumstances under which they were written. The times in which Scholarios lived do much to explain why Augustine's pessimistic view of human nature held such sway over his theological imagination.

THE FALL OF MAN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We now move from the fall of one city to the Fall of Man. Here the contrast between man's self-inflicted misery and God's abiding love is evident on a much grander scale. First, let us consider the relationship of the first human beings in their prelapsarian states. It has already been shown that there was little patristic consensus on the question of Adam's relation to Eve before the Fall. One did not need to resort to biblical exegesis, however, to observe that humanity's fallen state, in both the Byzantine and Western Middle Ages, was one in which women were subjugated by men. Scholarios writes that, because of the Fall, woman *δουλείαν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινωνίας λαμβάνει* (1:13) [receives slavery instead of fellowship with man]. *Δουλεία* was also the term used by Chrysostom for woman's position with respect to man after the Fall. In Chrysostom's account (*In Gen.* 4), three types of slavery were introduced into the world on account of man's first transgression: of woman to man, of slave to master, and of everyone to leaders and laws. On the first of these, he imagines God exclaiming to Eve:

Ἐποίησας σε, φησὶν, ὁμότιμον. Οὐκ ἐχρήσω καλῶς τῇ ἀρχῇ, μετέβηθι πρὸς τὴν ὑποταγήν. Οὐκ ἤνεγκας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κατὰδεξαι τὴν δουλείαν. Οὐκ οἶδας ἄρχειν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τῶν

³⁹ Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson, 48.

πραγμάτων ἔδειξας τῆς πείρας, γενοῦ τοίνυν τῶν ἀρχομένων, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπίγνωθι κύριον. (*In Gen.* 4.1.594)

[I made you equal in honor. You did not make good use of your rule, so go into subjugation to the man. You did not bear your freedom, so accept slavery. You did not know how to rule, as you have shown in this trial of deeds, so now become one of the ruled, and accept the man as lord.]

Though Aquinas did not agree with Chrysostom that woman was created *ὁμότιμος* to man, his thought on the consequences of the Fall is basically similar to Chrysostom's in that he, too, taught that a new degree of inequality was introduced *post peccatum* because of Adam and Eve's disobedience (*ST* 1, q.92, a.1, ad 2).

It is often difficult to infer how various ancient and medieval thinkers' understanding of the Fall's effects on gender relations shapes their views on social power structures. If a writer argues that gender inequality results from the Fall, does that mean he is condemning or condoning a social order which subjugates women to men? Aquinas and Scholarios are careful to point out that they do condone such a social order. The care with which Aquinas, in particular, explains woman's subjection indicates that his interpretation did not seem self-evident to his contemporaries, which is worth noting since modern readers typically interpret the biblical account of Eve's creation as a straightforwardly misogynistic narrative. Whether we realize it or not, we cannot help but interpret this Hebrew story through the Platonist bias that the derivative is always inferior to the source, but such a bias had little effect on Aquinas and none on Chrysostom. To justify his statement of woman's inferiority, Aquinas refers not to a Platonist theory of emanations, but to the supposedly self-evident fact that man is more rational than woman. For Aquinas, then, woman was made inferior to man in spite of the biblical creation story, not because of it. Since woman, according to him, was inferior from the moment of her creation, the Fall cannot have caused her subjection to man, although it may have exacerbated it.

The passage we have seen from John Chrysostom could be interpreted as a justification for the subjugation of women if one argues that his teaching of the two sexes' original equality is irrelevant because he goes on to say that the primordial equality became negated through humanity's first sin. However, his sermon on the Fall was not written to extol the social order but to persuade his audience that it was a radical deviation from the Creator's plan. Nothing he says suggests that his motivation was to "put Eve in her place." Rather, the sense that pervades his homily is bewilderment at the number of evils human beings have brought upon themselves, gender

inequality being the first. He describes woman's subjugation to man in the same terms as man's subjugation to wild animals. Explaining how man, created to be lord of creation, should tremble before wild animals, he states:

Ἔως μὲν γὰρ εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν παρρησίαν, φοβερὸς τοῖς θηρίοις ἦν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέκρουσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν ὁμοούλων δέδοικε λοιπόν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτός ἐστι, σύ μοι δείξον πρὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὅτι φοβερά τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ θηρία ἦν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις. (*In Gen.* 3. 592)

[While he still had liberty of speech before God, he was the source of fear to the animals. Then, after he stumbled, he feared the least of his fellow servants. If this is not the case, then show me where it is before the sin that animals were a source of fear to men. You will not be able to.]⁴⁰

Chrysostom's motivation is less to hallow the existing state of affairs than to understand how the world came to be so different from the one God originally created and intended, in which humanity lived without fear and the two sexes enjoyed equality.

In Chrysostom's passages on the Fall of Man, the idea of divine punishment is quite a bit more prevalent than it is in certain other strains of Orthodox spirituality, such as the Alexandrian exegetical tradition to which Athanasios belongs. A note of anger is implied in the speech Chrysostom has God deliver to Eve. Scholarios usually emphasizes the theme of divine punishment and wrath as well. For instance, he writes that after the Fall, plants began to produce thorns *καθάπερ δίκας* (1:13) [like judicial sentences]. A reference to plants producing thorns as a consequence of the Fall is also found in Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron*, but the implication is quite different. The sense of Basil's work is that man himself brought about a distortion of nature rather than that nature was changed to punish man. He writes of our sin, *δι' ἣν ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἡμῖν ἀνατέλλειν κατεδικάσθη ἡ γῆ* (5.6) [through which the Earth was condemned to produce thorns and caltrops]. For Basil, it is man who brings a blight upon the Earth through his own misconduct; whereas for Scholarios, it is the Earth which punishes man in compliance with divine retribution. The thorns and caltrops come from Basil, but Scholarios adds the judicial sentences.

Scholarios's legal simile is more characteristic of the West than the East. Here, as in his views on the Immaculate Conception, Thomism is no more helpful than most of the Byzantine tradition in accounting for

⁴⁰ Chrysostom cites the peaceful assembly of the animals before Adam while he was naming all living things as further evidence.

Scholarios's doctrine. While Aquinas, like all faithful Catholics, had to adhere to the letter of Western teachings on sin, his writings alter their spirit. A milder sense emerges in Thomas's works, as though the Angelic Doctor is explaining away the harshness of his predecessors. He accepts the view that death was inflicted on humanity as a punishment for sin but goes on to explain that it was only punishment in the sense that the withdrawal of grace is by accident (*per accidens*) tantamount to punishment (*ST* 2-1, q.85, a.5, resp.). Scholarios was familiar with this teaching of Thomas's and included it in his Greek version of the *Summa Theologiae* (6:98), although his own sermons assert a view of divine punishment that Aquinas had sought to moderate in the Latin religious tradition. It is likely that Scholarios's own legal background, coupled with his immersion in non-Thomist Western theology, led him to use a simile taken from jurisprudence.

It is significant that Scholarios's statement on Eve occurs within a sermon on the Feast of the Annunciation. The homily, Scholarios's longest, occupies sixty pages of the standard critical edition. If it was truly given in its entirety, it must have taken Scholarios several hours to deliver his speech,⁴¹ which painstakingly traces salvation history from the Fall to the Resurrection. Eve figures prominently in the early part of the sermon as a contrast to Mary, one of whose many feasts being what is commemorated in Scholarios's speech. The image of Mary as the second Eve is at least as old as St. Irenaeus of Lyons.⁴² On these two important archetypal feminine images, Alice-Mary Talbot writes:

Perusal of the surviving texts suggests an ambivalence toward women in the patriarchal society of Byzantium, best symbolized by the frequently expressed antithesis between Eve, endlessly reviled as the temptress who persuaded Adam to eat of the forbidden Tree of Knowledge and thus was the cause of original sin, and the Virgin Mary, venerated as the pure and immaculate Mother of God, whose Son came to cleanse mankind of its sins and offer the possibility of salvation and eternal life.⁴³

Later in the same article:

The Byzantine attitude toward women was ambivalent. Under the influence of two stereotyped female images, the Virgin Mary, who miraculously combined virginity with motherhood, and Eve, the sexual tempt-

⁴¹ There is some debate concerning the importance of court oratory in Byzantine society. See Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, xvii.

⁴² Irenaeus of Lyons, *On the Apostolic Preaching*, ch. 33, p. 61. This work by Irenaeus survives only in an Armenian translation.

⁴³ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women," 117.

ress, they vacillated between revering women as mothers and criticizing them as weak and untrustworthy.⁴⁴

As Talbot observes, the Byzantines held up Mary and Eve as examples of the two extremes of virtuous and fallen womanhood, though the reader sensitive to theological nuances may rightly quibble with the application of the term "original sin" to Byzantine spirituality for reasons which have been discussed already. We may add here that the contrast between Eve and Mary was the corollary to a similar contrast between Adam and Jesus which was, if anything, even more important.⁴⁵ The image of Mary as the second Eve developed within primitive Christianity to parallel the Pauline image of Christ as the second Adam (1 Cor. 15:45).⁴⁶ For Scholarios, believing as he did in the Latin doctrines of Original Sin and the Immaculate Conception, the contrast between Adam and Eve on the one hand and Jesus and Mary on the other is particularly striking, since the first pair introduced sin into the world while the second pair eliminated sin by living entirely free from sin from the moment of their conception onward. He compares Christ and Adam,

Καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος πατήρ, οὕτως αὐτὸς τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, Εἴ τις γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινὰ. (3:307)

[Just as Adam is the father of the present age, so is he [Christ] the father of the future age, as the Apostle says, 'Whoever is in Christ is a new creature. The old things have passed away, and behold, all things have become new'. (2 Cor. 5:17)]

What he says here is common in Byzantine spirituality, although it takes on a new meaning for him because to be "in" Adam means, quite literally, to be physically contained in his semen and, therefore, contaminated by original sin. To be in Christ, then, is to have original sin washed away, in the Augustinian sense.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid., 142.

⁴⁵ The lamentations of Adam in the realm of the dead and his subsequent rejoicing upon Christ's triumph over death are *topoi* that recur constantly throughout the poems of St. Romanos Melode and many other Byzantine writers (St. Romanos the Melode, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina*).

⁴⁶ For more on the image of the second Eve, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries*, 39–52.

⁴⁷ Why the offspring-to-be of the baptized Christian were not automatically saved by being contained within the redeemed body is a question the more brooding Augustinians did not ask. Several decades after Scholarios's death, the Swiss Reformer Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) would address these questions in the West,

Though there is some truth to the statement that Eve was reviled for tempting Adam, neither the book of Genesis nor a great many Byzantine religious documents explicitly sexualize humanity's initial transgression. Whether or not the first sin was of a sexual nature, and if so, whether it was partially or entirely sexual, was a topic of debate among the Church fathers. Scholarios, though he accepted Augustine's view of the inherent sinfulness of human semen, does not read a sexual metaphor into the account of Adam and Eve's first sin. His treatise on the trees in the Garden of Eden, in fact, seems surprisingly literal-minded for so subtle a thinker. Perhaps he was simplifying matters for the sake of the addressee.⁴⁸

THE TREES IN THE GARDEN

Scholarios does not single Eve out for any particular rebuke. On the contrary, if we wish to find sexism in Scholarios's account of the fall, we would do better to look not at what he says about her but at what he does not say. He does not even mention Eve in his letter, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ ξύλων, τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλου καὶ τῆς γνώσεως* (3:338–43) [On the Trees in Paradise, the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge]. If there is sexism in the treatise, it is not in any notion of Eve as a seductress, but in the supposition that she was irrelevant. While Scholarios could not be accused of blaming the fall on Eve and exculpating Adam, he could, perhaps be accused of holding the bias that human beings are male by default, with women not warranting special mention. He frequently mentions Adam by name but never refers to Eve, even implicitly, anywhere in the letter.⁴⁹

rejecting many traditional Augustinian doctrines, in the treatises *Von dem Tuff* and *De peccato originali*. In the fifteenth century, beliefs concerning the fate of unbaptized infants had become largely the same in the East and the West. Medieval Scholastic theology had mitigated the harshness of Augustine's doctrine in Western theology to the point where Gregory of Rimini's (d. 1358) teaching that unbaptized babies were damned to Hell earned him the unflattering title *Gregorius Tortor Infantium*, although his ideas were derived entirely from Augustine. Likewise, Western influence on Byzantine theology had affected the theology of infant baptism, introducing Augustinian elements which are somewhat inconsistent with the Eastern Church's anthropology to the effect that the teachings of the two churches on the matter converged for the most part.

⁴⁸ Scholarios was sensitive to the educational levels of the various audiences he addressed, and he recognized the need to write sometimes ἐν φράσει ἀπλουστερά (4:199) [in a more simple style]. Christopher J. G. Turner makes the same observation ("Another Anti-Latin Work Attributed to Gennadius Scholarius," 344).

⁴⁹ The addressee is simply referred to as φίλτατε, "most dear," and it is not

Scholarios's writings suggest that Adam and Eve were equally to blame for the Fall, although the idea of blaming a particular individual is not of concern to him. Here we may contrast him with St. Ambrose of Milan (ca. 339–397), who found it necessary to place the blame firmly on Eve. In so doing, he also bears witness to the level of controversy that must have surrounded the topic in patristic times. He rejects the idea, apparently held by some of his contemporaries, that Eve did not sin because God did not actually deliver his commandment to her, but only to Adam:

Et plerique putant non mulieris hoc vitium esse, sed Adae fuisse. Ita Adam dixisse mulieri, dum eam vellet facere cautio-rem, ut adderet mandasse deum: *Neque tangetis ex eo quicquam*. Habemus enim quia Adam, non Eva mandatum acceperit a deo; non enim mulier formata fuerat. Ipsa quidem verba Adae, quibus mulieri dicit formam seriemque mandati, non prodit lectio, sed intelligimus per virum ad mulierem seriem transisse mandati. Videro tamen quid alii sentiant: mihi tamen videtur a muliere coepisse vitium, inchoasse mendacium. Nam etsi de duobus videatur incertum, tamen sexus prodit qui prius potuerit errare. Adde quia praeiudicio illa constringitur, cuius et postea prior error inventus est. Viro enim mulier, non mulieri vir auctor erroris est. Unde et Paulus ait: *Adam inquit non est deceptus, mulier autem seducta in praevaricatione fuit*.⁵⁰

[Many think that this was not the woman's fault, but Adam's. They think that, if Adam had wanted to make the woman more cautious, he could have added that God commanded, "Do not touch anything from this." We realize that Adam, not Eve, received the mandate from God, because the woman had not yet been made. It is true that Scripture does not provide the exact words with which Adam conveyed the form and sequence of the divine mandate, but we understand that the sequence of the mandate was transmitted to the woman through the man. I see, then, what other people believe, but it seems to me that blame was begun, and falsehood initiated, by woman. Now even if it seems uncertain which of these two is true, the sex gives away who was able to err first. In addition, even though she was bound by a prejudice in her own favor, it was later revealed that her sin occurred first. For woman became

clear whether or not it was truly intended for a specific individual. Even if it was, it is still likely that Scholarios knew it would soon be disseminated to a broader audience. Many of the fathers' great treatises, such as Athanasios's *Life of Anthony*, Basil the Great's *On the Holy Spirit*, and Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Saint Macrina*, were written in the form of letters, though it was clearly understood from the outset that they would be read throughout Christendom. The publication of important people's letters was a convention Byzantium inherited from antiquity, and which, in Christianity, dates all the way back to Paul.

⁵⁰ St. Ambrose of Milan, *De Paradiso* 12.56.

the author of sin for man, not man for woman, just as Paul also says, “and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.”]

In this matter, Scholarios again shows the influence of Augustine, who differed from Ambrose in that he did not try to determine which individual was to blame, but saw the blame as that of Adam and Eve together, working as an early microcosm of human society.⁵¹ This may seem odd considering what has been said about Augustine as the prophet of individualism, but thinkers of his magnitude rarely fit easily into neatly defined categories. He was a major figure in the rise of individual consciousness in the West, but, as we see in the matter at hand, the richness and complexity of his thought defy generalization. For him, the very idea of placing individual blame indicates humanity’s fallen state:

Et dixit Adam: mulier, quam dedisti mecum, haec mihi dedit a ligno, et edi. Superbia! Numquid dixit: peccavi? Habet deformitatem confusionis et non habet confessionis humilitatem. ... Mulier, inquit, quam dedisti mecum, id est quam dedisti, ut esset mecum, haec mihi dedit a ligno, et edi: quasi ad hoc data sit, ut non ipsa potius oboediret viro et ambo Deo. Et dixit dominus Deus mulieri: quid hoc fecisti? Et dixit mulier: serpens seduxit me, et manducavi. Nec ista confitetur peccatum. (*De Gen. ad Litt.* 11.47–48)

And Adam said, “The woman, whom you gave me, gave me this to eat from the tree, and I ate it.” Such pride! Did he never say, “I sinned?” What ugly disorder, lacking the humility of confession. ... “The woman,” he said, “whom you gave me.” That is to say, “Whom you gave in order to be with me. She gave me this from the tree, and I ate it.” As if she were given for this purpose, and not that she should rather obey the man and both of them obey God. Then God said to the woman, “Why did you do this?” And the woman said, the serpent deceived me, and I ate it. She also does not confess her sin.

One of the ways in which Augustine attempts to show that Adam was just as culpable as Eve is by arguing that, in obeying Eve and eating the fruit, Adam neglected his duty as a man to instruct and guide his wife. Though Augustine’s intention was to counter the notion that Eve’s blame was greater than Adam’s, Augustine’s attack on Adam based on the presupposition of woman’s natural subservience can make the North African’s

⁵¹ “D’un point de vue théologique, elle fait comprendre que la faute originelle fut celle du *premier couple en tant que tel*, de la première cellule sociale de l’humanité” (notes to St. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, ed. and trans. P. Agaesse and A. Solignac, 48:558–59 n.).

opinion even more offensive to modern sensibilities than Ambrose's overt and deliberate misogyny.

Scholarios apparently shared Augustine's view that determining who exactly was to blame for the Fall of Man was useless, although he lived in an age when fancifully misogynistic exegesis was quite common, as in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, published not long after Scholarios's death.⁵² One interpretation of the creation of woman which stands out as particularly misogynistic is that the rib represents woman's crooked nature, since it is the most crooked bone in a man's body.⁵³ Also rampant in a great multitude of works from the fifteenth century, as in the works of St. Augustine, is a deep-seated anxiety concerning human sexuality. Such anxiety, however, is almost entirely absent from Scholarios's writings. The only time we find it is in the statement, εἴτ' αἰσχύνονται μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ τῆς σαρκὸς πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἡ γύμνωσις) (1:13). [So then, they become ashamed of the battle between the flesh and spirit (for this was the nakedness).]⁵⁴ This statement occurs within a list of the consequences of the Fall, and Scholarios does not dwell on it but simply mentions it and moves on. It is also significant that Scholarios mentions this only in his long sermon on the Annunciation but leaves it out of his more succinct letter on the trees, which indicates that he did not consider it one of the more important matters to discuss in his account of the Fall. It is striking to compare book 11 of Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*, with its constant references to *concupis-*

⁵² Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*. As hard as Kramer and Sprenger tried to find a justification within the Christian tradition for their witch-hunting hysteria, they ultimately could not. In spite of their heated deprecation of the temptress Eve, their theology forced them to concede that Mary's sanctity had washed Eve's sin away from the female sex completely (1.5), and the authors were left puzzled that witchcraft should run so rampant among a sex which, according to Mariological doctrine, should have been so pure. The source of the witch-hunters' anxiety with respect to the female sex may have been the disparity between the reality of human nature and the impossibly high ideal established by Marian piety. The negative psychological effects of the cult of Mary have been examined in Marina Warner, *Alone of All her Sex*.

⁵³ Francis Utley, *The Crooked Rib*, 256.

⁵⁴ In much of the Greek Orthodox spiritual tradition, no assumption is made that the battle between the flesh and the spirit necessarily has anything to do with sex. "Carnal sins" refers to overeating much more often than to sexual misconduct in the writings of the Desert Fathers and the Cappadocians. Similarly, the Eastern tradition usually interprets Paul's "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12:7) as some sort of headache rather than the sex drive. See John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Second Corinthians* 26.2 (PG 61:215).

centia, with Scholarios's writings on the same topic, where sex has little if anything to do with humanity's transgression. Nevertheless, as we have seen, he remained committed to Augustine's concept that human sinfulness is transmitted from generation to generation by the act of procreation. He seems to have been greatly influenced by Augustine intellectually, yet able to hold Augustine's opinions while remaining free of the personal emotional and psychological dilemmas which so troubled Augustine himself. The impact of the books he read must not have been great enough to override the influence of spending his whole life within a culture that never developed an Augustinian notion of individual guilt.

Scholarios does not discuss his own sexuality. The modern critic may, of course, be inclined to pry beneath the surface and find what we all know he has to have been repressing. Such critical endeavors may not be invalid, but, for our purposes, it will suffice simply to point out that celibates had an ancient and esteemed role in Byzantine society. As a celibate philosopher, Scholarios was the heir to many ancient philosophical schools. Likewise, as a celibate monk, he was the heir of Christ's apostles. It is, therefore, quite plausible that a man with his religious and professional values could have found personal validation in sources other than sexual intercourse. At least, I have found no evidence of obviously displaced sexual desire in Scholarios's writings.

A subject about which Scholarios does at times express anxiety is his own salvation. Here, he has something in common with another monk, also deeply influenced by St. Augustine, whose pangs of conscience and worry over the state of his soul would lead him to overthrow the entire system of monastic asceticism and penitence forty-five years after Scholarios's death.⁵⁵ Augustine's idea of Original Sin was the one element of medieval religion which Martin Luther unquestioningly retained in Protestantism, as well as the one which Scholarios transferred without reservation into his own brand of Orthodoxy. Luther and Scholarios are alike in that they not only accepted Augustine's teachings on sin, but go quite beyond the doctrine of the Catholic Church in their Augustinianism to embrace the doctrine of predestination. Luther's innovative doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone, however, assured him that, as long as he trusted Christ to cover all his sins, his rank among the elect was guaranteed. Scholarios's theology allowed him no such guarantee. In the *Γενναδίου Θεῆνος* (1:283–94),⁵⁶ after bewailing

⁵⁵ Scholarios probably died in 1472, and Luther posted his ninety-five theses in 1517.

⁵⁶ *Lamentation de Scholarios sur les malheurs de sa vie*. This piece was composed

the ignorance and lack of education of his countrymen, he prays to God, Ὅτι καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν ὁμογενῶν, καὶ πέπεισμαι ἐνίους αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν εἶναι προωρισμένους, οὓς σὺ μόνος ἐπίστασαι (1:294). [I have already assailed my countrymen, but I am convinced that some of them are predestined by you to salvation, whom you alone know.] Yet he does not assume his own place among the elect, ἔγωγε τοῖς μὲν κινδυνεύουσιν ἐν τοιούτῳ σάλῳ συμπάσχων (ibid.). [I, on the other hand, am suffering together with the imperiled in such great distress.] Scholarios serves as an important reminder to the student of the Reformation that belief in predestination does not necessarily imply a corresponding belief that the faithful are aware of their own election, although “absolute predestination” and “final perseverance of the saints” are inextricably linked in some Protestant belief systems.⁵⁷ The obvious source of the doctrine of predestination in both Scholarios and the Reformers is Augustine's anti-Pelagian corpus, especially the *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum*.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

An aspect of Scholarios's work in which Augustinian influence is quite complicated is his conception of the self and its relation to society. In the quotations cited in the previous section, Scholarios does not express his concern over his own salvation without first making a reference to his ὁμογενεῖς, “countrymen.” Furthermore, when he states his concern over the condition of his soul, he writes not that he alone is imperiled, but that he is τοῖς μὲν κινδυνεύουσιν ἐν τοιούτῳ σάλῳ συμπάσχων [suffering together with the imperiled in such great distress]. He does not refer to his own prospects for salvation apart from those of larger groups. What, then, are we to make of this element of Scholarios's thought in light of the following quotation from Guglielmo Cavallo?

Individuality was another basic characteristic of the Byzantines. It could be found in all members of society and sometimes led to selfishness and

about 1460, and it is grouped by Jugie, Petit, and Siderides with Scholarios's funeral orations because part of it eulogizes his late parents. Alexander Sideras (*Die Byzantinischen Grabreden*) does not classify it as a *Grabrede*, and, technically speaking, it is not.

⁵⁷ In 1619, at the Synod of Dort, the Reformed Church made these doctrines two of the five points of Calvinism, and they are almost universally viewed as cornerstones in Western theology. See Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4: *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)*, 235–42.

excessive interest in oneself, in which everything was permitted without the impediment of friendship, loyalty, or rectitude. But this individuality also produced isolation and represented one of the most marked breaks with Byzantium's late Roman past. Society in the West had been reorganized along new lines. From the age of Herakleios on, however, the collapse of city life and the crisis of social relations in Byzantium forced individuals back into themselves and into solitude.⁵⁸

It was the West, not Byzantium, that produced Augustine, whose *Confessions* are an extended account of individual experiences quite unprecedented in world literature. The closest thing to such a psychological autobiography we find in Byzantine letters are monastic treatises like St. Symeon the New Theologian's *On Faith*, which scholars generally believe to be autobiographical.⁵⁹ In this work, the author, speaking of himself in the third person, finds salvation only after returning to the monastery from the world. The monastic community is absolutely essential to his salvation. Augustine, on the other hand, finds salvation while he is still in the world. The famous instance of him hearing the voice calling out "*tolle, lege*" occurs while he is both by himself and in the world. Symeon tells the story of the young monk George (his own baptismal name) who found salvation in the world but then lost it, only to regain it after joining a monastic community. So what are we to do with Cavallo's statement of Byzantine individualism? An observation by John Zizioulas on the Cappadocian Fathers is quite helpful:

The Cappadocian Fathers gave to the world the most precious concept it possesses: *the concept of the person, as an ontological concept in the ultimate sense*. Since this concept has become, at least in principle, not only part of our Christian heritage but also an ideal of our culture in general, it may be useful to remind ourselves of its exact content and significance as it emerges from a study of the theology of the Cappadocians.

(a) As it emerges from the way personhood is understood by the Cappadocian Fathers with reference to God, the person is not a secondary but a primary and absolute notion in existence. Nothing is more sacred than the person since it constitutes the "way of being" of God Himself. The person cannot be sacrificed or subjected to any ideal, to any moral or natural order, or to any expediency or objective, even of the most sacred kind. In order to *be truly* and *be yourself*, you must be a person, i.e., you must be free from and higher than any necessity or ob-

⁵⁸ Cavallo, *The Byzantines*, 10.

⁵⁹ G. E. H. Palmer, Phillip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware, eds., *The Philokalia*, 4:13.

jective—natural, moral, religious or ideological. What gives meaning and value to existence is the person as absolute freedom.

(b) The person cannot exist in isolation. God is not alone; He is *communion*. Love is not a feeling, a sentiment springing from nature like a flower from a tree. Love is *relationship*, it is the free coming out of one's self, the breaking of one's will, a *free* submission to the will of another. It is the other and our relationship with him that gives us our identity, our otherness, making us "who we are," i.e., persons; for by being an inseparable part of a relationship that matters ontologically we emerge as *unique* and *irreplaceable* entities.⁶⁰

Zizioulas's observation may help provide the solution to the paradox of the coexistence of Byzantine individualism (which Cavallo is right to point out), on the one hand, with the absence of an Augustinian notion of self in Byzantine culture, on the other. The person was supremely important to the Byzantines, but the self was not viewed in isolation from society but inextricably linked with the community.⁶¹ This may very well stem from, and is certainly related to, the primacy of the person which we have already discussed in the overview of Augustine's trinitarianism earlier in this chapter. Byzantine theology and Byzantine cultural values reflect the importance of personhood existing within the context of a community. The Trinity, as we have seen, derives its unity in Byzantine thought from the monarchy of the Father, yet the Father has never existed without the Son or the Spirit, and the three of them are completely united in their actions, their love, and their will. In Byzantine thought, God does not have an impersonal essence, as he does in Augustine's theology. On the contrary, his essence is always personalized by one of the members of the Trinity.⁶²

⁶⁰ John D. Zizioulas, "The Cappadocian Contribution," 56.

⁶¹ Augustine's *City of God*, of course, deals with the community while the *Confessions* focuses on the individual. I wish to clarify that I am not saying the community was unimportant in the West. Such a position would be indefensible. The communitarianism of the *City of God* does, however, exist alongside the individualism of the *Confessions*, which has no parallels in Byzantine culture.

⁶² Sergei Bulgakov, *Sophia*, 52–53:

We should point out a very important peculiarity of such statements as the following: the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Trinity "is" either Ousia or Sophia. Such a statement *cannot be reversed*. We cannot on the basis of the foregoing argument affirm the converse in which the place of the subject would be occupied by the Ousia-Sophia, and the place of the predicate by the hypostases, for instance: "Ousia-Sophia is the Father, Son, etc." Such a statement would simply be untrue for it would contain the heresy of impersonalism as regards the Holy Trinity. It would equate with the hypostases a principle which is in itself nonhypostatic although it belongs to the hypostases. This is the ontological absurdity, the heresy,

The values of personhood and community are also reflected in Byzantine saints' lives. It is a common hagiographic topos that even secluded hermits are ultimately validated in their solitary efforts not because of what they do for themselves but because their prayers sustain society invisibly.⁶³ In Byzantine secular literature, we find similar examples of the reconciliation of individualism and communitarianism. For instance, the epic hero Digenes Akrites lives and fights alone, far away from city life in a remote border outpost, all of which is consistent with Cavallo's comments on Byzantine individualism. He is unlike the Spanish hero, El Cid, who is never unaccompanied by his loyal vassals. Yet Digenes is not merely a lone warrior out seeking personal wealth and glory. He is the defender of the Empire. However far from the population centers he may be, everything he does is ultimately for the benefit of his people and in the interests of his emperor. Scholarios reflects similar cultural values in expressing concern for the fate of his soul in a way that suggests not the isolated struggle of the individual, but the intimate connection between the fates of his own soul and those of his countrymen. Placing matters of eternal salvation aside and concentrating more on earthly troubles, we may point out, in addition, that although the piece has been entitled *Lamentation de Scholarios sur les malheurs de sa vie*, it expresses at least as much concern with the national catastrophe as with his personal misfortunes.

Neither Scholarios nor any other Byzantine who comes to mind expresses the sense of separateness from one's own community and its values, "alienation" as the term is popularly used, that is the basis of Western individualism. It is true that the breakdown of urban society and the ensuing frontier atmosphere described by Cavallo led to a spirit of independence and at times even selfishness, but it is necessary to differentiate between independence and selfishness on the one hand and individualism on the other. We may define individualism as an awareness that one's own values

which characterizes all varieties of impersonal conception of the Holy Trinity (beginning with that of St. Augustine, continued in those of Boehme and Eckhart, and culminating in those of Schelling and Hegel).

⁶³ Kallistos Ware, "The Way of the Ascetics," 7:

He [the solitary] goes out to discover God and to achieve union with him through prayer; and this is something that helps others. Equally he goes out to confront the demons, not running away from danger but advancing to meet it; and this also is a way of helping others. For the devil with whom he enters into combat is the common enemy of all mankind. Thus there is nothing self-centered in this act of *anachoresis*. Every prayer that he offers protects his fellow Christians, and every victory that he wins over the devil is a victory won on behalf of the human family as a whole.

are different from the values of one's community. Neither the knight trying to attain the chivalric ideal nor the outlaw conforming to the aesthetic and behavioral norms of an outlaw image is an individualist, although both chivalric romances and outlaw ballads have sometimes been suggested as evidence for early stages of individualism. Neither the knight nor the outlaw claims to establish an individual set of values. Rather, both strive to excel within the framework of an established norm. Byzantium produced an epic of Digenes Akrites, the hero who embodied society's values while remaining fiercely independent, but it did not produce a Petrarch who declared "dal mondo i' son diviso" (*Canzoniere* 17.4) in a rhetorical expression of the lover and artist's social alienation.

The primacy of the person in Byzantine culture, so eloquently expounded by Zizioulas, explains much of why Byzantium rejected the Latin doctrine that God's essences and energies were one and the same. If the two were indeed identical, what safeguard would there be that the human person would continue to survive as such after death? The Byzantines believed that the human could progress eternally in a process of unification with God's energies but denied any possibility of union with his essence. Accordingly, they maintained that the essences and energies were distinct *πράγματα*, "realities." All this may seem to fly in the face of what is so often said about the importance of "deification" in Orthodox spirituality. While the Orthodox Church does indeed emphasize deification in its liturgical and ascetic practice to a greater degree than most Western churches, the truth is that Orthodoxy places a qualification on the doctrine of deification while the Catholic church does not. Though the Catholic church agrees, and has since the Middle Ages, that a certain difference will always exist between man and God, it has never said precisely what the difference is. Meister Eckhart was condemned in 1329 for blurring the distinction, but his condemnation did not make the Church's position on the distinction any clearer. The Orthodox church, however, stated its position on the matter definitively in 1351 when it sanctioned the doctrine of the "Palamite Distinction" between God's energies and his essence, and the participation of humanity in the former but not the latter. This was in direct contrast to Thomas Aquinas's teaching that God's essence and his energies were the same.

3 THE CONFLICT WITH PLETHON

The act for which Scholarios has been most negatively portrayed is the burning of George Gemistos Plethon's *Book of Laws*, a guideline for a new society based on a revival of the ancient pagan religion. When the book finally came into Scholarios's hands, Plethon was dead and Scholarios was, or would soon become, the first Ecumenical Patriarch during the period of Ottoman rule.¹ There had been a long rivalry between the two men, dating back to a book Plethon wrote on the differences between Plato and Aristotle and his reasons for preferring Plato. Steeped in Western Medieval Scholastic theology, Scholarios considered Aristotle both the greatest of ancient philosophers and the one most compatible with Christian doctrine. He responded to Plethon with a book on the superiority of Aristotle, to which Plethon again composed a reply; and the controversy that ensued between the two men was largely responsible for setting a trend among philosophers of juxtaposing Plato and Aristotle as though the two were polar opposites.² The trend has not entirely died out to this day, though neither of our two Byzantine antagonists was motivated by any special hostility toward either Plato or Aristotle.³

As intense as the personal and scholarly rivalry between the two men was, events leading up to the burning of the book cast doubt on the com-

¹ Jugie initially believed that Scholarios received the book during his patriarchate but later concluded that it must have been shortly before, on the grounds that Scholarios referred to himself as "the humble Gennadios" rather than "servant of the servants of God" (4:viii). It is, however, possible that the title reflects that Scholarios was confused early in his patriarchate about what the bishop of Constantine's city should call himself now that Constantine's religion no longer ruled it. It may have taken Scholarios some time to arrive at a satisfactory solution even after taking office.

² For an account of Plethon's and Scholarios's disciples' role in fanning the flames, see Karamanolis, "Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle," 254–55.

³ "Contre Platon lui-même, il [Scholarios] ne nourrit aucune animosité et sait reconnaître ses mérites" (Martin Jugie, "La Polémique de Georges Scholarios contre Pléthon," 517).

mon supposition that Scholarios was acting out of jealous rage against his old adversary. In his writings against Plethon, Scholarios was not merely attacking a personal foe. He was defending the Orthodox faith as part of an apologetics project that occupied more and more of his time as he grew increasingly disillusioned with, and skeptical of, other ideologies. His writings against Plethon's paganism come from a time when he was becoming concerned with defending Orthodoxy against the claims of both the Muslim conquerors and the Roman Catholics, who, Scholarios believed, had betrayed the Greeks.

In the debate on the virtues of Plato versus Aristotle, Scholarios only suspected Plethon of paganism. His suspicions were confirmed when he received the *Book of Laws* after Plethon's death. The fact that Scholarios and Plethon were both trying, in their own very different ways, to preserve what they considered the most useful elements of Ancient Greek culture has often been overlooked. For instance, Scholarios' actions and their aftermath have been summarized:

Ὁ πατριάρχης Γεννάδιος Σχολάριος εἶχε κάψει τὰ βιβλία τοῦ Γεωργίου Γεμιστοῦ – αὐτοῦ τοῦ μακρινοῦ προδρόμου τοῦ νεοελληνικοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ καὶ οὐμανισμοῦ – καὶ πολέμησε τὴν ἐμφάνιση κάθε ἐλευθεροφρονῆς σκέψεως. Ἡ ἐχθρότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέναντι στὴν ἐλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία κληροδοτεῖται καὶ ἐντείνεται ἀνάμεσα στοὺς κληρικοὺς καὶ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς σὲ ὅλη τὴ μακραίωνη τουρκοκρατία.⁴

[The Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios had burned the books of George Gemistos—that distant forerunner of Modern Greek nationalism and humanism—and waged war against the appearance of every liberal opinion. The church's enmity toward Greek philosophy was inherited and intensified among clergy and laity throughout the entire long-lasting period of Turkish rule.]

Such was one historian's assessment of the legacy and disposition of the man who has been called "the first leader of what would become the Modern Greek nation."⁵ A more sensitive study of the conflict between

⁴ Markos Gkiolas, *Ho Kosmas Aitolos kai he epoche tou* [Kosmas Aitolos and his times], 48.

⁵ Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 51. The term "nation" may be criticized on the grounds that nothing like the modern nation state yet existed, but any term will be problematic since not even the Greek language had an accurate term for the new political reality. Fifteenth-century Greeks tended to call themselves a "genos," and the Ottoman administrative term was, of course, "millet." I will use the term "community" because I believe it is the least ideologically charged term available, and therefore the most appropriate for exploring the difficulties Scholarios and

Scholarios and Plethon will highlight the difficulties Scholarios faced, the goals toward which he worked as patriarch, and the contradictory visions of Greek community he and Plethon had.

Paul Magdalino has observed that “the whole debate over the continuity of Hellenism seems to hold little interest for younger Byzantinists.”⁶ The purpose of this chapter is not to resurrect the debate, but to explore how Scholarios and Plethon both tried to draw from what they considered the most admirable parts of the Greek tradition in their plans to establish a viable new community. Not unlike Greek nationalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both men looked more to antiquity than to the Byzantine period in their community-building endeavors.⁷ Antiquity appealed to Plethon because of his own pagan religious views, and it seemed an appropriate model to Scholarios because antiquity was a time, like his own, when the Orthodox people did not have their own empire. To compare antiquity’s appeal for the fifteenth-century community-builders to its appeal for the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century nation-builders, consider Benedict Anderson’s assessment of the intellectual climate on the verge of Modern Greek nationhood:

In the last quarter of the [eighteenth] century, this “past” became increasingly accessible to a small number of young Greek-speaking intellectuals, most of whom had studied or traveled outside the confines of the Ottoman Empire. Exalted by the philhellenism at the centres of Western European civilization, they undertook the “debarbarization” of the modern Greeks, i.e., their transformation into beings worthy of Pericles and Socrates.⁸

Though Anderson is not and does not claim to be a Balkan expert, we bring him into the discussion because his concept of the “imagined community” best accounts for why Scholarios was a more successful community-builder than Plethon. He recognized that Christianity was an integral part of his people’s communal imaginings. A people so fiercely loyal to Or-

Plethon faced.

⁶ Paul Magdalino, “Hellenism and Nationalism in Byzantium,” in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*, chap. 14, p. 1.

⁷ For more on various ways in which appropriations of the past shaped different aspects of the nineteenth-century nationalist movement, see Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*.

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 72. Anderson’s work deals generally with the rise of nationalism in the modern world. For more on nationalism in a specifically Greek context, see Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation*, and Cyril Mango, “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism.”

thodoxy that they rejected the Council of Florence was not about to embrace neo-paganism. Like the nationalists Anderson describes, Plethon looked past the Byzantine era to the time of Pericles and Socrates. He had little interest in Greek thought after the last blossoming of neo-Platonic thought in the works of Proclus.⁹ Perhaps, when we consider Plethon's privileging of the Ancient over the Byzantine we may concede Gkiolas' point that Plethon did anticipate a sort of Greek nationalism, but the brand of nationalism that joins Plethon in rejecting the Byzantine era has been considered problematic since the publication in 1877 of Paparhegopoulos's Byzantine-centered *History of the Greek Nation* and the series of reactions it has caused.¹⁰ Plethon's intolerance of the Orthodox religion of the Byzantine Middle Ages was so overwhelming that, in his promotion of paganism, he even advocated the burning alive of all dissenters.¹¹

Scholarios was a more syncretistic thinker than Plethon. As much as Scholarios loved the Early Church and saw parallels between his own time and late antiquity, he sought to draw from as much of his people's history as possible. Aristotle and Gregory Palamas are among his major intellectual influences. He sought to reconcile non-Christian and non-Orthodox thinkers with Orthodoxy, as his love of Aristotle and Aquinas attests. He became an apologist only later in his career, and even then he maintained a deep devotion to Aristotle, translating many commentaries on the Stagirite's work from Latin into Greek. It is thus impossible to accept the accusation that he sought to suppress ancient philosophy. He never lost his admiration

⁹ The accusation that Plethon's "Platonism" had more to do with Proclus than with Plato was initially made by Scholarios (4:153). Woodhouse agrees that Plethon was indeed indebted to Proclus. Karamanolis disagrees ("Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle," 273), demonstrating that the Christian Origen agreed with Proclus on key issues. It should be noted that Origen was the most Platonist of Christian thinkers and was regarded as heterodox after the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Plethon's student Bessarion was instrumental in the popularization of Proclus in the West. For Bessarion's role, see E. R. Dodds, introduction to *Elements of Theology*, by Proclus, xxxii.

¹⁰ Konstantinos Paparhegopoulos, *Historia tou hellenikou ethnous* [History of the Greek nation]. A good survey of reactions to Paparhegopoulos is found in Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*.

¹¹ "Ὡς τις παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας δόξας σοφίζόμενος ἀλῶ, ζῶν καὶ οὗτος κεκαύσεται (*Peri Nomon* 3) [Any sophist found teaching against our doctrine shall be burned alive]. In fairness to Plethon, we may point out that he argues against capital punishment in the *De Isthmo* (PG 160:836). Perhaps he simply could not resist attacking "sophists" like Scholarios on the harshest possible terms, even when to do so compromised the coherence of his political system.

for Aristotle, Aquinas, and other thinkers who did not share his religious views, but the sequence of events from the Council of Florence in 1438–39 to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 caused him to grow jaded in his outlook toward the West and more convinced of the need to preserve the Orthodox faith in what he believed was its pure form.

In assessing his duties as the first patriarch of the post-Byzantine church, Scholarios surveyed the fourteen centuries of his religion's history and drew his greatest inspiration from the pre-Constantinian church. In a time when canons were hard to enforce, he found solace in the ability the Church had once shown to thrive in a time when canons did not exist. He shared with Plethon the belief that the Greeks of their generation had an especially strong obligation to study the pre-Byzantine past in order to learn how to function as a single, united people in a radically changed world. Both men's knowledge of history made them aware that the period of the pre-Christian Roman Empire was the last time such a situation existed, and that it therefore held many lessons for their contemporaries.

Scholarios reveals his sensitive awareness that the Church needed to address the political and social changes of his times in a letter to the monk Maximos Sophianos, who complained of the ignorance of priests and the relaxing of strict adherence to the Church's ritual norms:

Γινώσκετε τοίνυν, ὅτι ἡ λεπτολογία τῆς εὐταξίας ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς δυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ψαλμωδίαις καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τῇ μοναχικῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς οὐκ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ, ἀλλ' ὕστερον γέγονεν· ἤρξατο γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν καιρῶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, ἐξότου καὶ αἱ οἰκουμενικαὶ ἤρξαντο σύνοδοι· ἡ δὲ σοφία καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἐπιτροπῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία καὶ παρρησία τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ, τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος, τὴν τοιαύτην λεπτολογίαν ἐπλήρωσε· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου χρόνοις τριακοσίοις καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ἀπλότητα εἶχεν ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ χριστιανισμὸς καὶ οὐ ποικιλίαν τοσαύτην· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀπλότητι εἶχεν ὁ ἡμέτερος Ἰησοῦς πλείονα καρπὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων... Καὶ νῦν ὁ χριστιανισμὸς ὁμοίος ἐστὶ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου· οὔτε γὰρ βασιλείαν ἔχομεν νῦν, οὔτε Ἐκκλησίαν ἐλευθέραν, ὡς οὐδὲ τότε· ἡ δὲ λεπτολογία τότε μὲν οὐπω ἦν εὐρημένη, νῦν δὲ ἐνὶ μέν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις, ἀλλὰ ὁ διδάσκων οὐδεὶς, οὔτε ὁ διδασκόμενος... Ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ ἡ ἀδυμεὶν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπογινώσκειν, ἢ διότι οὐχ εὐρίσκουμεν νῦν τὴν λεπτολογουμένην ἀκρίβειαν, ταράττεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους ταράττειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἐν τοσαύτῃ ιδιωτείᾳ καὶ παχύτῃ μὲναι ὁ χριστιανισμὸς ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι τῆς γῆς καὶ πολλοῖς γένεσι καὶ γλώσσαις πολλαῖς... καὶ ὅμως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πειρασμῶν οὐ ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κλονεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλὰ ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶν

ἀποθνήσκειν... Τίς ζητήσῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄλλην ἀκριβείαν καὶ λεπτολογίαν, ἣν ὁ καιρὸς οὐ δίδωσιν; (4:203–4)

[Be aware, now, that strictness and scrupulousness of order in the mysteries of the Church, in the episcopate, in the eucharist, in psalmody, in the feasts, in monastic life, and, simply put, in everything, was not in Christianity from the beginning. It came about later. It began in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, when the Ecumenical Councils of the Church began as well. The wisdom and care of the guardians of the Church, together with the liberty and free speech of Christianity, completed ritual precision as time went on. For three hundred and eighteen years before Emperor Constantine the Great, from the time of our Lord's *oikonomia* onward, the Christian faith had in all matters a simplicity as opposed to such complexity. Yet, in such simplicity our Jesus had abundant fruit from men. ... Today's Christianity is like that which existed before Constantine. For now we have neither an empire nor a free Church, just as we had none then. Strictness was not yet found then at all, whereas now it dwells in books, but has neither teacher nor student. ... But we should not, on account of that, lose heart or give up hope. Nor, now that we do not find such strict scrupulousness, should we trouble ourselves or others. Rather, we should give thanks to God that, in the midst of such ignorance and dullness, Christianity abides in many parts of the earth, among many peoples and in many different languages. ... The great number of temptations does not cause men to wobble in their faith. Rather, they are prepared to die. ... Who will require of them any further scrupulousness or strictness, which the times do not provide?]

Here we see that Scholarios wanted his religion to have not only the theological rigor of Scholastic philosophy, but also the simple piety of the early Church. This passage is part of an exhortation that Armenians, Latins, and other Christians not in full communion with the Orthodox Church receive the hospitality and blessing of monks and be allowed to receive the antidora (blessed bread).¹²

The word *oikonomia* has been left untranslated because it is one of the most difficult theological terms to render into English and because, since Scholarios here exemplifies the concept he names, a discussion of it is in order. *Oikonomia* literally means “house management” and refers to the way in which God deals with humanity. Lenience and compassion are implicit in

¹² This is not the bread used for the Holy Eucharist but bread which is blessed without being consecrated. Consecrated bread is used in the Eucharist itself, while the antidora are given after the Eucharist. Scholarios agreed that only Orthodox may receive the Eucharist.

the Orthodox understanding of the term. When Scholarios speaks of Christ's *oikonomia*, he is referring to Jesus's life, death, and resurrection, the greatest act of compassion on the part of God toward man. Any sort of ecclesiastical lenience can also be termed *oikonomia*, such as Scholarios's own willingness to relax standards of ritual observance in the interests of compassion and harmonious relations among the various Christian churches. Scholarios was acting entirely within Orthodox tradition in his advice to Maximos Sophianos, and it would be a mistake to read too much reformist sentiment into Scholarios's wishes to relax ritual austerity. Scholarios believed that the canons and practices of the Byzantine Church were entirely appropriate for the times in which they were established and that they were, for the most part, binding on Christians of his own time as well. He was not advocating any radical new ideas to the monks of Jerusalem but reminding them that *oikonomia* was as much a part of the Orthodox tradition as canonicity.¹³

Cyril Mango writes that, in his new position bridging Byzantium and Turkish rule,

Gennadios had been faced with a terrible choice: on the one hand, to admit the bankruptcy of a way of thinking that had been held axiomatic for a thousand years, to bow before the Pope and pray for whatever military aid the West might be willing to contribute; on the other, to uphold traditional beliefs and trust in Providence. Some Byzantinists chose the first alternative and ended up in Italy; Gennadios consciously and, we hope, honestly chose the second—and he had the people behind him.¹⁴

The recognized way to solve any problem in Orthodox society was to consult tradition, but traditions that developed when the Orthodox ruled the Byzantine Empire were sometimes unhelpful in telling them how to live as the subjects of the Ottomans.

¹³ Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 89:

Occasionally, *oikonomia*—whether the word itself is used or not—becomes part of the rule itself. Canon 8 of Nicaea, for example, specifies that Novatian bishops be received as bishops whenever the local episcopal see is vacant, but that they be accepted as priests, or *chorepiskopoi*, when a Catholic bishop already occupies the local see. In this case, the unity and welfare of the Church are concepts which supersede any possible notion of the “validity” of ordination outside the canonical boundaries of the Church, and *oikonomia*—i.e., God's plan for the Church—represents a living flexibility extending beyond a legalistic interpretation of sacramental validity.

¹⁴ Mango, “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism,” 34.

Prior to 1453, tradition seemed straightforward to Scholarios, and the proper way to consult it seemed fairly clear-cut. The last major upheaval regarding the correct interpretation of Orthodox tradition had been resolved a century before when the Church vindicated Gregory Palamas and condemned his opponents. After 1453, however, Scholarios had to look deeply into Church history for a traditional answer to the question of how Orthodox society should function after the fall of the eleven-hundred-year-old Christian Empire in which most of its traditions had been formulated. His familiarity with the critical historiographic methodology of the Renaissance enabled him to recognize that ritual and canonical observance was not static (as the medievals had believed), but that Church practices had changed in the past and could therefore change in the future as the need arose. Scholarios was a realist whose political motivations, before and after his patriarchate, were based on a sober assessment of his people's situation. Brilliant and visionary though Plethon may have been, it is difficult to imagine a world in which his ideas could have been implemented. None of Scholarios's ideas were as glamorous as those of Plethon, who has been credited with pioneering everything from Constitutional Monarchy to modern economic policy,¹⁵ but none of Plethon's ideas could have been put into effect among the fifteenth-century Greeks. The reforms Plethon envisioned would have constituted the greatest social revolution in history, and it was clear to pragmatic thinkers like Scholarios that the Byzantines' political situation allowed them to do little but prepare for and adjust to foreign domination. Had Plethon somehow managed to convert so intensely Christian a people as the Byzantines to his own version of ancient Platonism, they would have enjoyed none of the privileges under Ottoman rule to which the Christian subjects were entitled.

Plethon believed that he could have had a tremendous positive influence on Byzantine society if generations of rulers had taken his advice,¹⁶ but questions of the competence or incompetence of previous despots and emperors were irrelevant at the time Scholarios unwillingly assumed the patriarchate. Most immediately, the new patriarch was requested by Mehmet II to compose a treatise in defense of the Christian faith against the claims of Islam. The work he produced was one of the greatest successes of his career. At the same time, he was forced to respond to Plethon's *Book of Laws*, but he dealt with neo-paganism quite a bit less gracefully than he dealt with

¹⁵ C. M. Woodhouse, introduction to *Gemistos Plethon ho philosophos tou Mistra: Hoi oikonomikes, koinonikes, kai demosionomikes tou apopseis*, by Sabas Spentzas, 8.

¹⁶ Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, 270.

Islam. A lifetime of training in philosophy, theology, and rhetoric prepared him to write perhaps the greatest of all Eastern Orthodox apologetic works against Islam, but nothing prepared him for the role of statesman in which he suddenly found himself when he first received a copy of the late Plethon's book.

A more skillful politician could perhaps have found a way to suppress Plethon's book while still avoiding seeming heavy-handed or tyrannical either to Plethon's followers or to later generations of historians, but most if not all rulers of his age would have agreed with Scholarios's judgment that the book was heretical. Everyone who came into contact with the *Book of Laws* knew that the expected response of the political authorities would be to burn it, but no one wanted to have a book-burning damage their public image or, perhaps, trouble their conscience. When Scholarios initially received the book from Princess Theodora of the Peloponnese during or shortly before his first patriarchate, he sent it back to her with the advice that she burn it and receive the "wages of her piety" (4:155). He knew that the princess's capital was the center of Plethon's support, and outright condemnation of him would have political repercussions. Theodora's letter to Scholarios does not survive, but circumstances indicate that she was reluctant to burn the book herself and wished to have Scholarios take responsibility. As Jugie states:

La *Lettre à l'exarque Joseph*, écrite au Mont Ménécée, donc après la démission du patriarcat et peu de temps après cet événement, c'est-à-dire soit sur la fin de l'année 1456, soit en 1457, nous fournait de nouveaux détails sur le livre de Pléthon, son contenu, sa division, ses sources et sa destruction exécutée publiquement par Gennade lui-même, devenu patriarche. Car la princesse Théodora ne voulut pas se charger elle-même de cette besogne.¹⁷

Plethon had many followers in Mistra, and Theodora must have realized that it would be foolish to earn their animosity.¹⁸ Had Scholarios been either an intolerant zealot or a jealous rival, he would have burned the book as soon as he had the chance. It was certainly within his rights.

¹⁷ Jugie, "La Polémique," 524. The chronology of events in Scholarios's life after 1453 remains obscure.

¹⁸ Elements of a pagan revival have also been pointed out in the art of fifteenth-century Mistra. For analysis of Classical elements in Palaeologan art from Mistra and Veria, see Doula Mouriki, "Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life," and *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting*.

In 1460, Mistra fell to the Turks and Theodora fled to Constantinople sometime thereafter, bringing the book with her and presenting it to Scholarios, who must have been surprised to find that he had not seen the last of it. This attempt to reconstruct events assumes that the misfortune (*συμφορά*) Scholarios mentions (4:157) is the fall of Mistra, in which case the letter to Joseph must have been composed no earlier than 1460. Jugie merely concludes that the letter was composed after 1456. It is most likely that it was composed some time after Scholarios's second patriarchate (1462–63), since he must have been patriarch when he gave the order to burn the book, although the letter to Joseph is from one of Scholarios's periods of retirement.¹⁹

Scholarios describes his reaction to the arrival of Theodora and her husband Demetrios: διπλοῦν ἡμῖν ἤνεγκαν πένθος, τὸ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς... τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ (4:157). [They brought me a double grief, partly on their account ... and partly on account of the book.] He was distressed to learn that the book he hoped had been destroyed, or at least had been made someone else's responsibility, was in his presence once again, this time under circumstances that demanded his immediate action. The unusual situation assured that this time he could have no recourse to those venerable Greek diplomatic ploys of redirecting or losing correspondence. The book was committed to flames.

Though Scholarios avoided burning the militantly apostate book as long as possible, Paul Oskar Kristeller has taken a dim view of his role in the matter:

According to the testimony of several contemporary enemies, which has been accepted by most recent scholars, Plethon ... planned to restore the pagan religion of Greek antiquity. In the preserved fragments of his chief work, the *Laws*, he speaks at length of the ancient deities and their worship. Yet, the work was destroyed after Plethon's death by his en-

¹⁹ My chronology here is derived from V. Laurent, "Les premiers patriarches de Constantinople sous domination turque (1454–1476)." The most recent examination of the dates of Scholarios's career has been undertaken by Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "George Gennadios Scholarios: A-t-il été trois fois Patriarche de Constantinople." Blanchet proposes that Scholarios was Patriarch only once, from 1454 to 1456. If she is correct, then the burning of Plethon's book must have coincided with one of Scholarios's ambiguous "forced returns" to power, which, Blanchet maintains, need not mean returns to the patriarchal throne. Demetrios and Theodora, at any rate, seem to have recognized Scholarios as the supreme ecclesiastical authority when they arrived in Constantinople after the fall of Mistra. If he was not Patriarch, it remains to be explained what precisely his authority was.

emy Scholarios, who preserved only these paganizing passages in order to justify his action, and I suspect that the complete text of the work might have suggested an allegorical and less crude interpretation of the same passages. The part Plethon took in the Council of Florence, his theological opposition to the Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, and, finally, the unqualified admiration shown for Plethon by his pupil Cardinal Bessarion tend to cast some doubt on the supposed paganism of Plethon.²⁰

I will attempt in the following paragraphs to demonstrate that Scholarios represented the *Book of Laws*' content accurately, although he did refuse to acknowledge its subtlety or depth. I will then argue that Plethon's Christian admirers were typically reticent about his faith even as they praised his many other virtues. Then I will discuss the lack of interest in Christian doctrine he displayed at Florence.

There is no evidence to support the assertion that Scholarios merely kept those paganizing passages which seemed to justify his actions. Plethon's disciples and admirers went about the task of salvaging what they could of the *Book of Laws*, and what they found is every bit as pagan as what Scholarios preserved.²¹ Furthermore, venomous as Plethon's followers' attacks on Scholarios were, they do not attempt to refute the charge that their mentor was an apostate. The only one who speaks of Plethon's Christian piety is a certain Gregory, who delivered one of the eulogies at Plethon's funeral.²² The most plausible explanation is that Gregory felt a need to hide his teacher's heterodoxy.²³ No one, friend or foe, truly familiar with Plethon's ideas thought to question that he was a pagan. One anonymous admirer of Plethon put the following words in the mouth of his late mentor, directed at Scholarios:

Ὅς ἀδυνατῶν ἀντειπεῖν καὶ ἀνασκευάσαι τὸ συγγραφέν, εἶπερ τι ἀπάρεστον εὑρισκεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας τε καὶ θεολογίας, ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸς τὰ Πορφυρίου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων εἰπόντες, ἔφθειρε ταύτην πυρί, τηκόμενος ὑπὸ φθόγου, καὶ ἐκχέων τὸν ἰὸν ὃν ἀεὶ ἔτρεφε κατ' ἐμοῦ· εὗρε γὰρ καιρόν.²⁴

²⁰ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, 156.

²¹ The most comprehensive collection of documents by and about Plethon is the edition by C. Alexandre.

²² Gregory the Monk, "Monōdia tōi sophotatōi didaskalōi Georgiōi tōi Gemistōi" [Monody to the most learned master George Gemistos].

²³ Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, 7–13.

²⁴ Anonymous, *Pros Plēthona ē peri tēs biblon* [For Plethon; or, on the Book], 410.

[Unable to refute or dismantle what was written, if indeed he found anything disagreeable therein, especially concerning Hellenic religion and theology, he acted like those who spoke against Porphyry, Julian, and others. Consumed by envy, and having found an opportunity, he destroyed it by fire as he oozed the venom he had always fostered against me.]

This author here groups Plethon together with Porphyry and Julian, two of antiquity's most bitter critics of Christianity. "Hellene" generally meant "pagan" in Byzantine Greek. Plethon and his followers, however, used the term almost to the exclusion of all others when referring to their own countrymen.²⁵ Elsewhere in the document quoted above, the author writes of Scholarios that *Οἱ ἀριστοὶ τῶν νῦν Ἑλλήνων μισοῦσιν ἐκεῖνον* (409) [the best of today's Hellenes hate that man]. For now it will suffice to point out that it is striking that Plethon's anonymous admirer praised him precisely because he shared the religion of Julian and Porphyry. He thus echoes Plethon's own view that his compatriots ought to share not only the language and intellectual tradition of their ancient ancestors, but their religion as well.

Though Plethon had Christian as well as pagan admirers, his paganism is clear when we consider the manner in which Christians praised him and question how deeply familiar his various Christian admirers were with his religious views. It was not until approximately a hundred years after his death that his admirers began to defend his Orthodoxy.²⁶ The monk Charitononous, who spoke at his funeral, included only one reference to the Bible in a eulogy otherwise filled with incessant references to pagan antiquity.²⁷ Woodhouse has argued that, whereas the monk Gregory perceived the need to hide Plethon's paganism, Charitononous was probably unaware of it and simply spoke of Plethon as he knew him.²⁸ The speech Charitononous penned suggests that he was a rather naive individual, so it is instructive to compare his eulogy of Plethon to that of the sophisticated and erudite Cardinal Bessarion, who leaves piety conspicuously out of the list of

²⁵ The term "countrymen" here is employed to correspond to the Greek term *syngenes*, which appears frequently in the writings in which fifteenth-century Greeks struggle with questions of communal identity. It is understood that Byzantines and, especially, post-Byzantines did not have a political entity corresponding to the modern notion of a "country."

²⁶ Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, 378.

²⁷ Hieronymous Charitononous, *Monodia to sophatato didskalo kyrio Georgio Gemisto*, 381.

²⁸ Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, 7.

his former teacher's many virtues. He warmly writes to Plethon's sons of their father's erudition and virtue but makes no mention of his faith. To do so would have been a farce, as both Bessarion and Plethon's children knew. In eulogizing Plethon, Bessarion was aware that he was writing not of a Christian, but of a virtuous pagan. The letter is short and worth quoting in full:

Πέπυσμαι τὸν κοινὸν πατέρα τε καὶ καθηγεμόνα, τὸ γεῶδες πᾶν ἀποθέμενον, ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν ἀκραιφνή μεταστῆναι χώρον, τὸν μυστικὸν τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς συγχορεύοντα Ἰακχον. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν χαίρω τοιούτῳ ὠμίλῳ ἀνδρί, οὔ μετὰ Πλάτωνα (ἐξηγήσθω δὲ λόγου Ἀριστοτέλης) σοφώτερον οὐκ ἔβυσεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. Ὡστ' εἴ τις τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀπείρου γε ψυχῶν ἀνόδου τε καὶ καθόδου Πυθαγορείων καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀπεδέχετο λόγους, οὐκ ἂν ἀποκνήσω καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι, ὥς ἄρα Πλάτωνος τὴν ψυχὴν, τοῖς τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀρρήκτοις θεσμοῖς δεῖσαν δουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀναγκαίαν ἀποδοῦναι περίοδον, ἐπὶ γῆς κατιοῦσαν τὸ Γεμιστοῦ σκῆνος καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου βίον ἐλέσθαι. Ὑμεῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ χαίροιτέ τε καὶ κροτοίητε, τούτου ἐκπεφυκότες, οὐκ ἂν τὰ εἰκότα ποιοίητε. Θρηγεῖν γὰρ τὸν γε τοιοῦτον μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦ. Μέγα κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ γέγονεν ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ, μέγας αὐτῇ κόσμος εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἑστίται. Τούτου κλέος οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται, ἀλλὰ οἱ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ φήμη μετ' εὐκλείας αἰδίου εἰς τὸν ἐς αἰὶ παραπεμφθήσεται χρόνον. Εὖ πράττοιτε καὶ πρίγκιπιν τὸν Χεῖλαν ἐξ ἐμοῦ προσείπατε, ὃς ἴστω φιλούμενος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥς οὐδέποτε μᾶλλον.²⁹

[I have learned that our common father and master has shed every earthly element and departed to heaven, to the place of purity, joining the mystical chorus of Iacchus with the Olympian gods. I too rejoice to have studied with such a man, the wisest that Greece has produced since Plato (leaving Aristotle out of account). So if one were to accept the doctrines of the Pythagoreans and Plato about the infinite ascent and descent of souls, I should not hesitate even to add that the soul of Plato, having to obey the irrefragable decrees of Adrasteia and to discharge the obligatory cycle, had come down to earth and assumed the frame and life of Gemistos.³⁰ So you do not do what is right if you do not rejoice and cheer that you were begotten by him. It would not be right to lament one like him. That man became a great glory to all of Greece, and he will be a great adornment to her hereafter. His fame will never perish, but his name and his reputation will be passed on to all

²⁹ Bessarion, "Bessarion Kardinalos to pros tou sophistou Plēthonos huiesi Dēmētriōi kai Andronikōi" [Cardinal Bessarion to the sons of the most wise Plethon, Demetrios and Andronikos].

³⁰ The translation is Woodhouse's (*George Gemistos Plethon*, 13) up to this point, after which it is my own.

time with eternal renown. Farewell, and send my greetings to prince Cheilas. May he know that, on account of his virtue, he is more dear to me now than ever.]

Bessarion here takes the language of allegory to its limits, knowing that, in this case, his pagan imagery is in fact much more than allegory. Though the reference to Mt. Olympus is not, in itself, unusual coming from a man steeped in the humanism of the Italian Renaissance, we would expect a Cardinal to include at least some mention of the Christian afterlife, but there is none. It must have been a remarkable experience for a humanist to get to know one of the virtuous pagans about whom he had read so much, and Bessarion chose to praise Plethon on the latter's own terms.

We may now turn to the questions of Plethon's participation in the Council of Florence and his authorship of several theological treatises. That he is more famous for lecturing on Plato in Florence than for any contribution to the Council's religious discussions suggests that he already found Plato more important than Christ when the Council began in 1438. He spoke on Plato with such passion and erudition that Cosimo de' Medici was inspired to found the Platonic academy of Florence, yet we find little mention of him in accounts of the Council itself. Woodhouse has observed:

It was characteristic that when he made his only public intervention at the Council of Florence, and when he later wrote an essay on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, his reasoning was in each case based on pure logic without any apparent interest in the substance. His principal works show that he was well read in the Greek patristic literature, but he treated the fathers with no particular reverence.³¹

Not only do his writings on Christian doctrine treat the matter with little concern, but they are, furthermore, filled with digressions on the ancient pagan religion which truly interested him. In an essay attacking the Latin view of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, titled *Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine*, he writes:

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνικὴ θεολογία ἓνα Θεὸν τὸν ἀνωτάτω τοῖς οὐσιν ἐφιστάσα, καὶ ἄτομον ἓν, καὶ ἔπειτα πλείους αὐτῷ παῖδας διδοῦσα, προὔχοντάς τε ἄλλους ἄλλων καὶ ὑποδεστέρους... ὁμῶς οὐδένα αὐτῶν τῷ πατρὶ ἴσον, ἢ γοῦν παραπλήσιον ἀξιοῖ εἶναι... Πρὸς γοῦν τῷ παῖδας τε τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, ἔτι καὶ ἔργα ἅμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ καλεῖ, οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα ἐπὶ γε τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννήσεως δημιουργίαν

³¹ Woodhouse, 20.

διακρίνειν, ὅτι μηδὲ βούλησιν φύσεως, ὅλως δὲ εἰπεῖν, μηδ' οὐσίας ἐνέργειαν.³²

[Pagan theology sets up one God, one individual, above all things that are and gives him many children, some superior to others and some, in turn, inferior to others... But it deems none worthy to be equal to or close to the father... In calling the children of God gods in their own right, and even calling them his works, it does not think to distinguish creation from generation, will from nature, or, to put it briefly, energy from essence.]

Plethon's argument is that the Latin Church's trinitarian theology has more in common with paganism than with Orthodoxy. Plethon's basic point is that the Latin idea that the Spirit proceeds in part from the Son who is begotten, in turn, by the Father, is suspiciously similar to the pagan belief in various generations of gods, all ultimately descended from one father. The Greek Orthodox view is that the Spirit proceeds directly from the Father and not at all from the Son. It is odd that Plethon should criticize the Latins for their supposed similarity to paganism. He may have seen the Latin doctrine as a crass derivative of ancient Hellenism,³³ and his motivation was also partly to allay suspicion of his own religious views. In this respect, he was successful. He even temporarily regained the respect of Scholarios.³⁴ We can also find a nobler motive for Plethon's participation in

³² Plethon, *Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λατινικοῦ δόγματος βιβλίον* (PG 161:976; the work is also in Alexandre's edition, 300–12). The terms "essence" and "energy" figure most prominently in the Hesychast controversy of the fourteenth century. Ultimately, the Church decided in favor of St. Gregory Palamas that the light which practitioners of Hesychastic prayer behold in their meditation is the uncreated energy of God, as opposed to his essence, which can never be seen by a human being, either in this life or in the next. The Western Church rejected the distinction between God's essence and his energies. See chapters 2 and 4 for a more detailed discussion of the essence/energies distinction.

³³ I am indebted to Nicholas Conostas of Harvard Divinity School for suggesting this possibility. It is quite true that religious views which seem crudely to mimic one's own faith are often more offensive than those which contradict it outright. By the same token, Woodhouse (*George Gemistos Plethon*, 362) has observed that much of what so incensed Scholarios about Plethon's own writings is that they occasionally seemed to parody Christianity.

³⁴ Christopher J. G. Turner ("An Anomalous Episode in Relations between Scholarios and Plethon," 56) suggests that Plethon wrote the piece deliberately to win Scholarios's favor:

Plethon had good reason to fear the power of the antiunionists. Indeed, the threats to the disciples of Hellenism were not empty, since we know that at least

theological debates that did not truly interest him personally. We can understand his involvement in the Council of Florence if we bear in mind his intense patriotism.³⁵ Even after it became clear that Florence was a failure and the Empire would fall, his preference for Greek over Latin Christianity may be seen as a choice for the lesser of two evils.

It is unnecessary to suggest that an “allegorical and less crude interpretation” of Plethon’s *Book of Laws* would be apparent if we had the full text, since allegory is already apparent in Plethon’s extant works. Underneath Plethon’s polytheistic symbolism there is an unmistakable monotheism, but his monotheism is not Christian. He summarizes his own religious views in the passage from the *Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine* cited above, although he does so without admitting they are his own. The other gods cannot be compared to the Father, but they do exist. His theology was heavily indebted to Proclus, who systematically reconciled the monism of Plotinus with the ancient belief in the Olympian Pantheon.³⁶ It is also possible that Plethon had heard of religions, such as certain forms of Hinduism, which teach that many gods exist but are all manifestations of one supreme being.³⁷ To Scholarios, the central issue was that Plethon taught the existence of more than one god, and precisely how he reconciled such a belief with an abstract sort of monotheism was of no interest. Kristeller can be correct that Scholarios was unduly dismissive of Plethon’s theological depth and allegorical subtlety, even as Woodhouse is also correct that Plethon was a pagan. Kristeller devoted most of his great career to the Christian Latin Humanists, and it is likely that he was too eager to find in Plethon a Greek counterpart to them.

one of their number underwent the death penalty; and Scholarius’ letter reporting this event dates not from 1451–1452, as its editor has it, but from a year earlier, since he refers in it to Gregory as “the present Patriarch,” which he would not have done after Gregory’s flight to Rome in 1451. Consequently, Plethon’s unexpected defense of Greek Trinitarian doctrine is consonant with other evidence for a steady growth in the power of the Orthodox religious party from about the middle of 1449 until at least 1451.

³⁵ Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, 107.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 72–78.

³⁷ An account of Plethon’s wide-ranging studies in different religions is found in Polymnia Athanassiadi, “Byzantine Commentators on the Chaldaean Oracles: Psellos and Plethon.”

THE IMPACT OF SCHOLARIOS AND PLETHON

The influence of Scholarios and Plethon on later generations has been a topic of concern to scholars.³⁸ Attempts to show the impact Scholarios had on subsequent generations outside the field of Christian apologetics have produced few results.³⁹ While it has been argued that Plethon's ideas were prophetic, it is impossible to demonstrate their direct influence on the future societies which supposedly adopted them.⁴⁰ That neither man's influence was proportionate to his talent is best attributed to the sudden violent death of the culture that nurtured them. Only a fellow Byzantine could have fully understood either Plethon or Scholarios, but Byzantium ceased to exist. History has as many abrupt changes as smooth transitions, and, although the fall of Byzantium was long in coming, beginning with the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and becoming inevitable with the Frankish-Venetian invasion of 1204, the brief period from 1453 to 1461, which saw the fall of Constantinople, Mistra, and Trebizond, definitively marked the end of a civilization.

This is not to say, of course, that Byzantium did not bestow a great deal on later generations. Much was transmitted from Byzantium to the Greeks under Turkish rule. The Orthodox Church remained intact, primarily because Mehmet II so allowed, and religious traditions were passed along. Late Byzantium's philosophical tradition, however, did not fare as well as other aspects of its culture, such as its folklore and its religion. Though important research on Byzantium's enduring legacy is becoming more common,⁴¹ we must take seriously Scholarios's own belief that mem-

³⁸ Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, 372–79; Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 97–116; Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, 85–103.

³⁹ “C'est que son influence dans le domaine philosophique fut éphémère. Sa tentative de faire revivre parmi les Byzantines le goût de la haute culture intellectuelle était vouée à l'échec puisque l'empire allait bientôt succomber sous les coups des Turcs. Après la chute de Constantinople, ses malheureux compatriotes s'occupèrent bien peu de philosophie” (Jugie, “George Scholarios, professeur de philosophie,” 494).

⁴⁰ Sabas Spentzas, *G. Gemistos Pléthon, ho philosophos tou Mystra: Hoi oikonomikes koinonikes kai demosionomikes tou apopseis* [G. G. Plethon, the philosopher of Mistra: His economic, social, and financial views], includes a study of Plethon's economic ideas with particular emphasis on Plethon as a predecessor of modern economic policies.

⁴¹ For an important (though passing) expression of the opinion that Byzantine philosophy continued to influence Greek society, see Katerina Ierodiakonou, ed., *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, 4. An examination of the Byzantine liter-

ory of Byzantine intellectuals *συγκατέδυν τῇ πόλει* (1:290) [sank together with the city]. It is a welcome development that growing numbers of Byzantinists are willing to prove Scholarios's pessimism wrong, but we ought nonetheless to respect his sadness. While we go about the task of reconstructing an understanding of Byzantium (as Scholarios hoped someone would), it is sobering to stop and reflect that Scholarios must have been largely right about how much of his culture was irretrievably lost.

Until recent advances in the field such as the volume edited by Ierodiakonou, the most that was usually said in praise of late Byzantine philosophers is that they inspired the humanists of the Italian Renaissance. Such praise sounds rather faint, as though the Byzantines could produce nothing valuable in their own right. Even the impact they had on the Western Renaissance is indirect. They inspired the Italians to read the ancient Greek philosophers but did not greatly influence their interpretations of them. Barbour has written, "Gennadios, a Thomistic purist, could hardly have been the forebear of a movement which produced Agostino Nifo and Pietro Pomponazzi, and they are surely not his heirs."⁴² The Platonists of Italy were somewhat more indebted to Plethon than the Aristotelians to Scholarios, but the similarity there is not great either. Plethon was concerned with politics, economics, and laws. Religion to him was an expression of communal identity, and its primary function was to order society. The mysticism that so attracted Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola did not interest him, or if it did, Plethon confined it to the secret teachings which he left unwritten in imitation of Socrates.

If Byzantine philosophers did not have the influence they perhaps deserved, Ierodiakonou and others are showing that they were gifted thinkers. It has already become apparent to me that study of Byzantine thought could be illuminating for literary theorists. Wolfgang Iser and Sanford Budick recently said that the negativity of postmodernism is not the God of negative theology because the former is grasped only by its operations and not by its entity.⁴³ If Byzantine philosophers had had a wider audience, Budick and Iser would have realized that they were reiterating the Palamite distinction six and a half centuries later and that one major school of theology does in fact describe God as Budick and Iser describe negativity. This

ary legacy is found in Margaret Alexiou, *After Antiquity: Greek Language Myth and Metaphor*. A major study of Byzantium's continuing influence is Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance: Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine*.

⁴² Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 110.

⁴³ Wolfgang Iser and Sanford Budick, introduction to *Languages of the Unsayable: The Play of Negativity in Literature and Literary Theory*.

shows us that we have much to learn from the Byzantines now even if others ignored them in the past.

When we compare Byzantium to Western Europe in the mid fifteenth century, we see one culture about to fade out of existence and another on the brink of a period of world domination which would last for at least five and a half centuries. Studies of late Byzantine intellectual history all too often end by apologizing for it. Runciman is typical, if more eloquent than most, in writing, "The scholarship of the last Byzantine Renaissance may not mean much to us today. But the scholarship was there, genuine and intense; and it deserves our respect."⁴⁴ The historian sympathetic to his subjects cannot help feeling frustrated studying fifteenth-century Byzantium's greatest thinkers. Most of them defected to the West, including Bessarion, George of Trebizond, and Isidore of Kiev. Plethon abandoned the Christian faith altogether. Scholarios remained faithful to the Orthodox Church but, soon after reaching intellectual maturity, was thrust into a position of political leadership unsuited to his talents. Had more of these scholars and thinkers remained among post-Byzantine Greek society, there can be little doubt that the Byzantine intellectual tradition would have continued and positively affected life under Ottoman rule, but most of them departed—ideologically, physically, or both.

The most unequivocally successful aspect of Scholarios's career was his apologetics. Eugenios Boulgares, arguably the greatest Orthodox manualist of modern times, was directly and consciously influenced by Scholarios.⁴⁵ Jaroslav Pelikan has written, "There was probably no such apology over against Islam that succeeded more fully than the treatise *Concerning the Only Way for the Salvation of Men*, written by the Aristotelian philosopher and theological scholar, George Scholarios."⁴⁶ The document to which Pelikan refers was composed at roughly the time when Scholarios first read the *Book of Laws*, and we should consider his writings on Islam as well as those on neopaganism part of his agenda to defend the Orthodox faith.

SCHOLARIOS AND THE SEMANTICS OF COMMUNAL IDENTITY

In an apologetic work against Judaism written in 1464, Scholarios considers the various things he could call himself, including Byzantios, Hellene, Thettalos, and even Latinos, because he knew the Latin language (3:251–

⁴⁴ Runciman, *Last Byzantine Renaissance*, 103.

⁴⁵ Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 111.

⁴⁶ Pelikan. *Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, 242.

304). He finally settles on *Christianos*.⁴⁷ Religion is equally a part of communal identity in the writings of Plethon, whose insistent use of the term “Hellene” implies that for him “Greek” and “pagan” are, or at least ought to be, synonymous. Unlike Scholarios, he showed no hesitation in deciding what to call his people. In this respect, the claim that Plethon was a man ahead of his time is justified, since “Hellene” has been the term by which Greeks refer to themselves since the War of Independence. The term in general use prior to that was *Romios*, derived from *Romaïos*, the word for “Roman.” Scholarios does not consider using *Romaïos* in his dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, since he argues that it is inappropriate for the Jews to call themselves *Ioudaioi* because they no longer live in Judaea. He would have opened himself up to a similar criticism had he chosen to use a term derived from the name of Rome, but it is still noteworthy that he does not even mention the possibility or state his reason for not accepting the term, as he does with the words *Hellene*, *Latinos*, and *Thettalos* (3:252). Another reason that Scholarios does not use the word “Roman” must be that he found it problematic since the Greeks’ claim to the title “Roman” was based on Byzantium’s claim to be the true and legitimate Roman Empire. Apparently, such a title no longer seemed even remotely appropriate to him since the empire no longer existed.

There are, however, texts in which Scholarios does use the term “Hellene” to designate his own people. Two we will consider here are the *Γενναδίου Θρήνος* (1:283–94) [Lament of Gennadios]⁴⁸ and the *Γενναδίου τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῇ παραιτήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης* (4:211–31) [Discourse of Gennadios the Patriarch on the Fall of the City and His Resignation from the Patriarchate].⁴⁹ In the former he writes:

Τίς οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ βελτίστους Ἑλληνας ἀνθρώπων πάντων γένεσθαι τίς οὐ πειρᾶται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρειν ἐν τοῖς συνοῦσι καλοῖς, καὶ Ἰταλός, καὶ βάρβαρος ἦ. Ἀλλὰ νῦν αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλη φανερωῖται τὸ γένος· ὀνειδῶν γὰρ οὕτω δικαίων πεπλήσμεθα πανταχοῦ, ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῖς προφέρουσι συνομολογεῖν καὶ τῷ συνειδῶτι δὲ πρῶτους κατηγόρους γίνεσθαι τῆς συγγενοῦς νῦν ἀμορφίας. (1:285)

[Who will not confess that the Hellenes became the greatest of all men? Who, whether Italian or barbarian, does not try to emulate their exam-

⁴⁷ Athanasios D. Angelou, “‘Who am I?’ Scholarios’ Answer and the Hellenic Identity.”

⁴⁸ “Lamentation de Scholarios sur les malheurs de sa vie.”

⁴⁹ “Lettre pastorale sur la prise de Constantinople. Gennade parle de renoncer à la dignité patriarcale.”

ple in all the beautiful things associated with them? But now it is a great disgrace to reveal one's race. Everywhere, we are filled with just censure, so that we, too, must, it seems, confess to the reproachers and become the first to condemn our countrymen's present ignorance.]

He uses the term "Hellene" again in his account of the fall of Constantinople:

Εἶδον οἶμοι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιγῶ, ἄλλα τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ δυστήνου τῶν Ἑλλήνων λειψάνου πᾶσαν ἀνηρημένην ἐν μιᾷ πόλει καὶ σώμασιν οὐ πολλοῖς σὺν ἐλάττοσιν ἀρεταῖς ἔτι μέχρι τότε σαλεύοντος· ἔζων δὲ ὁ τάλας ταύτῃ τρεφόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἀνθηρόντων ποτὲ τῶν ἐλληνικῶν πλεονεκτημάτων ἐκ τινος ἀνελπίστου μεταβολῆς, οὕτως ἐπειρώμην αὐτῇ τὰ τῶν καλῶν λείψανα διασώζειν, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, τὰ δὲ ἐρεθίζων τοὺς ὀτιοῦν πράττειν ἔχοντας. Καὶ νῦν οὐκέτι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος ἔξει σεμνὰ οὐδὲ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς προγονικῆς ἡμῶν ἀρετῆς ἢ στήξει, ἢ μένοντας που καλῶς γνωθῆσεται τε καὶ θαυμασθήσεται. (4:220)

[O, the things I saw. I will be silent on the all but this—that I saw the hope of the wretched remnant of the Hellenes teetering up to them, taken up all in one city with few people and little strength. I lived, nurtured thus by her, and, so that the successes of the Hellenes might blossom forth again by some unhopd-for turn of events, I have tried to save for her the remnants of what was beautiful. I have done all I could myself and encouraged others to do their best as well. No more will the course of human life hold the words and deeds of the Hellenes sacred. No more will the monuments of our ancestral virtue stand or remain at all to be renowned and admired.]

We see also that Scholarios uses "Hellene" while addressing a Greek audience, which indicates that Byzantines, or at least Byzantine intellectuals, commonly referred to themselves by that term even in the most Christian of contexts. The trenchant passages above leave no room for the hair-splitting technical accuracy of the *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*. That he could not call himself a Hellene while arguing about religion with a Jew demonstrates that the word was problematic, but when he strove less to persuade by logical accuracy and more to convey rhetorical force, he did call his countrymen Hellenes. However, we ought also to recognize that, in the two passages cited above, *Hellene* could refer both to his contemporaries and to his ancient, pre-Christian ancestors. He does not, after all, call his people simply "the Hellenes," but "the last remnant of the Hellenes," and it is not clear from the context whether the remnant is of something that still exists or of something which has already been transformed into something else. While he would not bemoan the loss of ancient Hellenic religion, he

was stricken with grief at the loss of so many long-enduring elements of ancient culture and learning, and the “ancestral virtue” he laments can refer just as easily to that of the ancients as that of the Byzantines. Likewise, his rhetorical question, “Who will not confess that the Hellenes became the greatest of all men?” refers both to the pre-Christian and Christian Greeks, the former even more so because Greek cultural superiority had already been established, in his opinion, when the empire became Christian.

What sense of communal identity emerges from this passage? Is it a vision of community based on *Land und Volk*, one based on politics, or one based on culture? There is an element of *Land und Volk*, since Scholarios refers to “ancestral virtue” and the city that nourished him. Likewise, there is some vestige of a geopolitical sense of identity, since the Hellenes continued to live throughout Europe and the Middle East, and it was only their empire that was “taken up all in one city.” However, though *Land und Volk* and geopolitics are of some importance, it is the cultural monuments that concern Scholarios most. What then happens to a polis-based identity when the polis is conquered by a foreign power? Scholarios is puzzled by this himself, as he expresses in his *Lament for the Fatherland*:

Ὡ πῶς, καλλίστη πατρίς, ἐστερημένοι σου φέρομεν καὶ πῶς σὺ φέρεις ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔχουσα τῶν τέκνων τοὺς εὐνουστάτους μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς οἰχομένης ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἔτι ζῆν ἡμῖν ἀνεκτόν; ὥχου γάρ, καὶ μένειν ἔτι δοκοῦσα. (1:287)

[O most beautiful fatherland, how do we endure without you and how do you endure us since you do not have the dearest of your children? Rather, how is it that you have departed from humanity, yet it is still bearable for us to live? For you have gone away, yet you still seem to remain.]

The loss of the fatherland leaves Scholarios with more questions than answers. Byzantine rule over Constantinople was such an important part of his personal identity that he questions how his own life is even possible now that that rule has ended. This passage is discussed further in chapter 4, but it has been quoted here as well to demonstrate the political element in Scholarios’s sense of communal identity in case the passage quoted immediately before gives the misleading impression that he was concerned only with cultural monuments and not with geopolitics. The phrase “and yet you still seem to remain” suggests a dawning realization that the geopolitical basis is no longer viable (if it ever was) and that new conceptions of identity must be found. What are these conceptions? We refrain from claiming to understand Scholarios better than he claimed to understand himself in his obvious admission of confusion. However, his increasing interest in apolo-

getics and his attempts to preserve cultural monuments so that the “successes of the Hellenes might blossom forth again” suggests that the Orthodox religion and the continuity of Hellenic culture were two crucial elements in the new identity he sought to forge.

Plethon and Scholarios alike looked to pre-Byzantine times in choosing what to call their people and in deciding how to structure post-Byzantine society. Plethon’s vision was an unrealistic call for far-reaching social and political reforms based on Plato’s *Republic* and *Laws*, while Scholarios accepted that all major political and social decisions would be made by the Turks and went about the more pragmatic task of organizing the Church. The spiritual revival Scholarios envisioned did not take place, partially because he lacked the leadership skill to bring it about.⁵⁰ His talent was as a writer and religious philosopher, and as such he was successful. Apologetic literature seldom attains its purported goal of converting non-believers, but it is remarkably good at strengthening the faith of those who already believe. Thanks largely to Mehmet II’s tolerance, the Greek Orthodox presence in Asia Minor would last as long as the Ottoman Empire itself. Acting with the freedom Mehmet granted him as leader of the Rome millet, Scholarios made several important contributions. His spirit of *oikonomia*, or lenience, was a sensible as well as traditional response to the needs of a newly colonized people. His approach to Thomism pioneered an attitude toward the West that would prevail throughout the period of Turkish rule, in which many Orthodox leaders embraced certain developments in Western thought while carefully and selectively disregarding others. This ensured that the Orthodox world would be open to the West but not intellectually absorbed by it. In the eighteenth century, Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain approached Western authors such as Ignatius of Loyola and Lorenzo Scupoli in much the same way that Scholarios had approached Thomas Aquinas three hundred years before. Nicodemus translated their work and recognized that it was spiritually profitable, but he let his readership know that he omitted parts he considered incompatible with Orthodoxy.⁵¹ Another of Scholarios’s achievements was to establish Aristotle’s importance in the Orthodox Church. Because of Scholarios’s efforts, Aristotle was widely read throughout the Ottoman period.⁵²

⁵⁰ Christopher J. G. Turner, “The Career of George-Gennadios Scholarios,” 454–55.

⁵¹ Ware, *Orthodox Church*, 101.

⁵² Karamanolis, “Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle,” 280.

Though Scholarios's posthumous career was considerably more successful than Plethon's, both men had dreams of spiritual renewal that were never realized. Scholarios wished for a return to the evangelical fervor of the primitive church, and Plethon for the revival of a lost ancient religious and social order. Neither man brought about all the far-reaching reforms he desired, but both men thoughtfully and passionately examined how a community can be enriched by awareness of its history in violently changing times.

4 FALLEN CITIES, ORIENTALISM, AND THE RHETORIC OF EAST AND WEST

This chapter first examines a letter to Loukas Notaras in which Scholarios reflects on his role as leader of the anti-Unionists and the widening of the split between East and West brought about by his anti-Unionist position. We then look at a work he composed on the fall of Constantinople, an event he had once tried to forestall by attempting to secure Western support. We have thus far examined East–West relations during Scholarios’s time and the influence of Eastern and Western Christian thought on his writing. After a comparison of Scholarios’s “Lament” with three poems on the collapse of civilizations and the decay of cities—one Byzantine, one Latin, and one Spanish—we discuss the Orientalist reception of Scholarios and the relevance of Greek Studies to the current theoretical discourse on Orientalism. The last part of the chapter deals with the Thomism–Palamism conflict and how modern discussions of it often reflect cultural and ethnic stereotypes which a careful study of the primary material does not support.

THE CARVER OF THE UNION

We begin by discussing the divisions Scholarios perceived between the Orthodox East and the Roman Catholic West and between the Byzantine and Modern periods in Greek history. Of course, he did not use the terms “Byzantine” and “Modern” as we do, but he was quite well aware that the events of 1453 signaled a new era in the history of his people. As we have seen earlier in our chapter on the Plethon controversy, Scholarios looked to Constantine’s establishment of a Christian empire as the last event of comparable magnitude. Scholarios thus pioneers the practice, now common among historians, of dividing Greek history into Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern periods. Scholarios, like modern historians, used the founding and the fall of Constantinople as the two watersheds by which to mark the three phases of Greek history. Part of the appeal of Scholarios to the comparatist is that he stands at two crossroads, one synchronic, between the Greek East

and the Latin West, the other diachronic, between Byzantium and Modern Greece.

Division and separation are themes which occur throughout Scholarios's work and which clearly weighed heavily on his mind. Consider how he translates a poem by Synesios of Cyrene. Here is an excerpt from Synesios's original text:

Αὐτὸς φῶς εἶ παγαῖον,
 συλλάμψας ἅκτις Πατρί,
 ῥήξας δι' ὀρφναίαν ὕλαν.
 ψυχαῖς ἐλλάμπεις ἀγναῖς. (4:369)
 [Wellspring of light,
 ray shining with the father,
 breaking asunder the murky matter,
 you enlighten pure souls.]

Scholarios translates Synesios's lyrical Doric poem into a plainer Attic style as follows:

Σύ, Κύριε, φῶς εἶ πηγαῖον·
 σὺ ἅκτις τῷ Πατρὶ συνεκλάμψασα,
 τήν δὲ σκοτεινὴν ὕλην διατεμών.
 ταῖς ἀγναῖς ἐλλάμπεις ψυχαῖς. (ibid.)

What is notable for our present purpose is that he changes the verb *ῥήγνυμι*, "to break," to *διατέμνω*, "to cut through." He chose a word which signifies separation and division, the actions of a sharp instrument, in contrast to *ῥήγνυμι* in Synesios's original, which signifies smashing or shattering, the actions of a blunt instrument.¹ This difference in connotation between the original and the translation indicates that images of cutting, splitting, dividing, and separating warrant special attention in the study of Scholarios' work.

In 1451, Scholarios wrote to Loukas Notaras of a confrontation between himself and a prominent Latin who called him the *τομεὺς τῆς ἐνώσεως* (3:136) "carver of the Union" of Florence. The word rendered here as "carver," *τομεύς*, may or may not be Scholarios's translation from Italian or Latin. The unnamed Latin speaker clearly used the term to mean that Scholarios had single-handedly butchered the sacred accord which had

¹ The LSJ entry for *ῥήγνυμι* states that the verb was "rarely used by correct Attic prose writers except in pass." Scholarios's decision to change the verb was probably motivated by a wish to give the passage a more Attic feel, but his substitution of a verb meaning "to cut" for a verb meaning "to break" is nonetheless quite significant.

brought the Eastern Church back into the fold of Roman Catholicism. Scholarios, however, delights in the ambiguities of the word, which has medical, artistic, and geometric connotations. Rather than contradict his opponent directly, Scholarios accepts the label *τομεύς* but subverts its meaning. At one point he uses the term to cast himself simultaneously in the roles of doctor and soldier, *Τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τέμνω ὑποφουομένην τὴν πλάνην, ὅς ἐστι τοῦ Πνεύματος μάχαιρα* (3:151). [With the word of truth, which is the knife of the holy spirit, I cut off this growing deception.] The word *ὑποφύω*, “to grow,” is generally used of the growth of flesh or vegetable matter, especially some sort of organic growth underneath the skin, and *τομεύς* can mean either a pair of forceps or an incisor on a surgeon’s knife; so, with this image, Scholarios twists his adversary’s words and portrays himself not as a butcher chopping apart the decrees of a holy and ecumenical council, but as a physician removing a malignant growth. The “growing deception” to which Scholarios refers is the technique of ideological imperialism by which Western powers offered to give military support to Constantinople in return for the Greeks’ conversion to the Western form of Christianity. Such were the conditions under which the Union of Florence was arranged, and Scholarios readily agreed that his refusal of the terms made him a “divider,” yet another meaning of *τομεύς*.² When Scholarios states *Τὴν ἔνωσιν ἡμεῖς ἀναιροῦμεν καὶ... μόνοι πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην πᾶσαν διαμαχόμεθα* (3:148) [I annul the union and do battle alone against all of Europe], he separates his people from Europe and declares them part of Asia. Another way he plays with the meaning of *τομεύς* is through constant reference to Latin *προσθήκη* “addition” to the faith, making himself a *τομεύς* in the sense of “craftsman’s knife,” as he unflinchingly scrapes away the unnecessary appendages to reveal Orthodoxy in its pure form.

The proverbial status which the saying “better the Turk’s turban than the Cardinal’s mitre” has earned in the Modern Greek language shows that Scholarios was not alone in preferring separation from the West to subjugation to it.³ After rejecting the Council of Florence and the prospect of Western military aid, Scholarios and the other anti-Unionists, whom he led, braced themselves for the inevitable reality of life under Ottoman rule. It sank in that this separation from Europe would also lead to the Greeks’ separation from their own past as they lost the empire which had given them their sense of national identity for eleven hundred years, or even more

² LSJ, s.v. *τομεύς*.

³ See n. 35 on p. 26 above.

if we consider how seriously they believed their own state was founded not by Constantine but by Julius Caesar.

SCHOLARIOS'S LAMENT

When Constantinople fell, it was clear to Scholarios that a tremendous cultural change had occurred. The Byzantines were no longer Byzantines, because Byzantium no longer existed. In 1460, Scholarios composed a lament on the fall of his city in which his anxiety over losing such a powerful symbol of his own identity is apparent (1:283–94). He wrote the lament after he had served as patriarch twice and retired to a monastery intending to spend the rest of his days writing and translating, although he did end up later serving yet a third term.⁴ We will discuss the genre of the lament within the context of Byzantine literature and then compare it with a statement by Joseph Brodsky on the nature of exile and with other poems from world literature on the fall and decay of cities. The themes of division and separation in Scholarios have been brought up partly because the lament expresses the speaker's grief at his people's sudden and violent separation from their own history. At various points in the lament, his own separation from his late parents serves to mirror the national tragedy at a personal level. Scholarios's sudden shifts back and forth between mourning for individuals and mourning for the city also help the piece convey a sense of rupture and disjointedness. The structure reflects the content. Its first editors entitled the piece *Lamentation de Scholarios sur les malheurs de sa vie*; a term Scholarios himself uses in the piece is *τῆς πατρίδος θρήνος* (1:290), and I will thus call it "Lament for the Fatherland." In addition to the unhappy circumstances of his own life, Scholarios laments the death of his parents; the miserable physical, mental, and spiritual condition of his countrymen; and, above all, the Byzantine Empire and its capital city. The piece is difficult to classify in terms of genre. Some scholars have included it among Scholarios's funeral laments, and others have not. It is to be expected that the piece should be somewhat anomalous and difficult to classify in any of the genres of Byzantine letters. We need not wonder that Byzantine culture had not produced a genre to tell of its own demise. Post-Byzantine writers, therefore, sometimes borrowed from, combined, and altered existing genres to describe a situation which had not previously existed and which had been brought about by shocking and violent events.

History was one traditional genre which presented a vehicle for relating the falls of cities and the conquests of empires, and one which some of

⁴ see n. 11 on p. 103 above.

Scholarios's contemporaries used,⁵ but Scholarios was not a historian, and he chose to write of the fall of Constantinople in a form that was more brief and intimate than a history. I will qualify my assertion that the unique event demanded a unique genre by recognizing that the Byzantine Empire had been losing major cities for hundreds of years. Nonetheless, the sack of Constantinople was unique because the capital itself had fallen and the entire empire was no more. Scholarios was aware that there would be no reconquest, as there had been after the city was taken by the Franks and Venetians in 1204. Though folk songs quickly appeared wherein the Greeks sang that Constantinople would be "ours once more,"⁶ Scholarios's assessment was more realistic.

Before proceeding with our discussion of Scholarios's "Lament" in the context of Byzantine literature, some mention of its performative context is in order, but there is very little evidence regarding who read or heard Scholarios's lament. Two autograph copies exist,⁷ but no addressee is named in either one. It was probably copied, disseminated, and read aloud as most literary texts were in the fifteenth century. It does not seem likely that Scholarios composed it with a particular reader or occasion in mind. However, he was reinstated to the patriarchate for a third term after writing the piece, and it might have reached a larger audience then, although Scholarios composed it when he believed he had retired for good from public life.

The genre Scholarios draws from most heavily in his "Lament" is the funeral oration, but the "Lament" is no ordinary one. It is something akin to a funeral oration for an inanimate object. Since the inanimate object being lamented is the Byzantine Empire, which, throughout its existence, had given millions of people an identity and a home, the lament is even more bitter than a lament for a single dead human being. To see this, we may compare it to Scholarios's most famous conventional funeral speech, delivered upon the untimely death of his nephew Theodore Sophianos (1:277–83). One notable feature of the lament for his nephew is that it is composed entirely in the second person as an uninterrupted apostrophe to Theodore. Much of the lament for the city is in the second person as well, but the addressee shifts constantly. First it is Scholarios's parents. Then it is the fa-

⁵ For histories, see: Michael Doukas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina*; Kritoboulos, *Critobuli Imbriotae historiae*; and Laonikos Chalkokondylas, *De origine ac rebus gestibus Turcorum*.

⁶ For a thorough treatment of this topic, see Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*.

⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, codex parisinus graecus 1289, f. 95–102; codex parisinus graecus 1294, f. 167–75.

therland. Then it is Scholarios's family. Then it is the fatherland again. Then it is Scholarios's mother. Finally, it is Christ. In each case, the new addressee is introduced with an exclamation ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πατρίς, ὦ συγγενεῖς (1:284, 287, 287, 293, 293). When he directs his speech to the fatherland the second time, he does not merely exclaim ὦ πατρίς but adds an emotionally charged, superlative adjective, ὦ φιλότατη πατρίς, "oh my own dearest fatherland," building the emotional effect. When he shifts back to address his mother, he himself calls attention to the sudden changes of addressee he makes throughout his speech, Ἀλλ' ὦ μήτηρ ἀθανασίας φερόνυμε (ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ πάλιν τρέψω τὸν λόγον) (1:293) [O mother, bearing the name of immortality (his mother's name was Athanasia), now I turn my speech back to you]. Rhetorical signposts like this make the audience even more aware of how Scholarios abruptly cuts from one addressee to another. Given the context of the lament, such sudden shifts are really a structural strength, not a weakness, since they emphasize the speaker's confusion as he grieves that he has been cut off from everything dear to him. He concludes with a prayer, marked this time not merely by one vocative, but by a sudden string of vocatives, ὦ Χριστέ βασιλεῦ, ὦ Λόγε Θεοῦ, ὦ γλυκύτατε Ἰησοῦ, ἡ ἐμὴ σωτηρία, ἡ ἐμὴ προσδοκία, τὸ ἐντρέφημά μου, τὸ αὔχημα ... (ibid.) [O Christ king, O Word of God, O sweetest Jesus, my salvation, my hope, my delight, my boast ...]. Here, the exclamations in the vocative case suddenly reach their climax in Scholarios's address to God, when the speaker leaps into the language of Byzantine liturgy and hymnography, in which long lists of titles and epithets are applied to a divine or holy person and several lines of text can go by without the appearance of a verb. The significance of Christ is that, in the Byzantine worldview, he is the one person Scholarios addresses from whom he has not been cut off. Death and war have separated him from his family and his homeland, but his religion remains intact. After addressing his father, his mother, his relatives, and his fatherland, he immediately launches into an account of how attached he had been to them all and how his relationship with each one has been severed. Each story of attachment and separation is interrupted by a vocative exclamation wherein Scholarios names someone or something that had been dear to him, which in turn leads to another story of attachment and separation. In the concluding prayer, he finally addresses someone who has not been taken away from him. So, rather than immediately begin a narrative discourse as he had done in each previous section of the lament, he briefly shifts from the language of narrative to the language of liturgical praise.

Byzantine literature is filled with funeral orations.⁸ When it was time to eulogize his relatives, Scholarios had already spent a lifetime absorbing and studying literary antecedents from which to draw. Byzantium had instilled in him a familiarity with a long and rich rhetorical tradition outlining the proper way to mourn the dead. But what, then, was the proper way to mourn Byzantium itself? As we have seen, one of the ways Scholarios answers this question is to combine several brief funeral orations for various deceased Byzantine citizens into the lament for the city. But this is not sufficient. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Byzantium was more than the sum total of every individual Byzantine. After all, eleven centuries of Byzantines had been born and died while Byzantium itself endured. Furthermore, every Byzantine funeral oration contained a note of hope. The dead would be resurrected and live again. The Byzantine Empire, on the other hand, had vanished forever. Scholarios's funeral orations contain prayers to the deceased for intercession. His speech to the fallen city, in contrast, expresses bewilderment that he is addressing something which has departed and will never exist again. Let us reexamine the passage:

Ὡ πῶς, καλλίστη πατρίς, ἐστερημένοι σου φέρομεν καὶ πῶς σὺ φέρεις ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔχουσα τῶν τέκνων τοὺς εὐνουστάτους μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς οἰχομένης ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἔτι ζῆν ἡμῖν ἀνεκτόν ὄχρου γάρ, καὶ μένειν ἔτι δοκοῦσα. (1:287)⁹

The first of these questions we have just heard Scholarios ask is fairly typical of funeral orations. It is an address to a departed loved one, and a statement that the dead were better people than the living. Such statements express a common type of rhetorical modesty, praise for the dead, an "*O tempora, O mores!*" type of invective against the living. But then the speaker quickly reconsiders what he has just said, as we see in the use of the word *μᾶλλον*, "rather," at the beginning of the next sentence. He realizes here that he is not addressing a person who would be resurrected and live again. No, he pauses to consider the sad paradox that the object which still lives in his memory, to which he can still even speak, does not exist any more and never will again. The speaker is puzzled that he went on living while the civilization that had seen the birth and death of so many of his ancestors did not.

⁸ See Sideras, *Die Byzantinischen Grabreden*.

⁹ This excerpt is translated on p. 92 above.

COMPARATIVE AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SCHOLARIOS'S LAMENT

To find a theoretical reference from which to talk about Scholarios's account of the fall of Byzantium, we may look to the literature and theory of exile. The exile is often said to be "without a country." An important difference between Scholarios's situation and that of the exile is that the exile is one who has gone away from his or her country while Scholarios laments that it is his country that has gone away while he himself has remained. Joseph Brodsky writes of exile:

Life in exile, abroad, in a foreign element, is essentially a premonition of your own book-form fate, of being lost on the shelf among those with whom all you have in common is the first letter of your surname. Here you are, in some gigantic library's reading room, still open ... Your reader won't give a damn about how you got here. To keep yourself from getting closed and shelved you've got to tell your reader, who thinks he knows it all, about something qualitatively novel—about his world and himself. If this sounds a bit too suggestive, so be it, because suggestion is the name of the whole game anyhow, and because the distance exile puts between an author and his protagonists indeed sometimes begs for the use of astronomical or ecclesiastical figures.¹⁰

Very well, then, let us give Brodsky the ecclesiastical figure his exile begs for and consider what the monk and former archbishop Scholarios says about his own book-form fate:

Ποῦ βιβλία συνειλεγμένα παρ' ἡμῶν τῇ κοινῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων
χρεῖα· ποῦ τὰ μακρὰ ἐκεῖνα συγγράμματα, τὰ μὲν εἰς θεολογίαν, τὰ
δὲ εἰς διαλεκτικὴν ἡμῖν εἰργασμένα, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν,
τὰ δὲ ῥήτορι πρέποντα καὶ κατὰ πάσαν λόγων ὕλην τε καὶ ἰδέαν, τὰ
δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας μετεννηγμένα φωνῆς, δι' ὧν μακρὰ τις τῶν ἡμετέρων
ἀγώνων μνήμη συνεσκευάζετο. Τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν καταπεπότηται τότε,
τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἤχθησαν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀτυχῶς. (1:228)

[Where are the books I selected for the common use of the educated? Where are the long compositions, some of which I wrote on theology and some on dialectic? Some were on secular philosophy. Some were for the rhetor. They dealt with every type of matter and every idea. Some of them were translations from their original language (Latin). Through all of these, I was prepared to be long-remembered for my struggles, but some of them were trampled down then (when the city fell), and others were taken abroad, which is not entirely unfortunate.]

¹⁰ Joseph Brodsky, *On Grief and Reason*, 31.

Later, the topic shifts from his books to his students and fellow intellectuals, and he writes with regret, Ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμη συγκατέδυν τῇ πόλει, ἥς σφωζομένης ἄν, καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἂν ἐσφύζετο κλέος (1:290). [Memory of them sank together with the city. If it had been saved, my fame would have been saved as well.]

The book-form fate of the exile, the author removed from his country, seems preferable to that of the author whose country has been removed from the earth. Brodsky sees himself lying open-faced on a shelf trying to get the reader's attention. Scholarios sees himself trampled down and carted off to foreign lands. The worst that Brodsky envisions happening to him is being placed back on the shelf, not trampled down in the dirt. Both Scholarios and Brodsky, however, are acutely aware that their fates will be decided abroad. This is why Scholarios adds that his being carried off in book-form to other countries is "not entirely unfortunate." Perhaps abroad, he realized, his books would find an audience and he would find the place in human memory which he had once expected to find among his compatriots. Here we may join Scholarios in his wordplay with *τομεύς*, as we see Scholarios's own multifaceted identity divided up into *τόμοι*, tomes (yet another derivative of the same root), carried abroad, and, we hope, reassembled in some way by his readers. Our own language, which Scholarios would have considered barbaric and not worth studying, has a convenient way of expressing how he wished to be "re-membered." We may spell the word "re-member" with the notorious hyphen to express the way in which Scholarios hoped his dialectic, his poetry, his speeches, his theology, his philosophy, and all the rest of his vast and varied work would be brought together once again after being scattered.

In addition to the memory Scholarios wishes to win in the minds of future readers, two more types of memory figure in Scholarios's lament. Both are types of memory of past things which Scholarios holds in his own mind. One is the memory of Byzantium that came from his own senses and experiences. The other is the historical memory of Byzantium that came from written and visual sources. An example of the former is Scholarios's reminiscence about the court of John VIII, where he enjoyed the imperial favor he lost upon the ascension of Constantine XI;¹¹ and an example of the latter is the ancestral recollection of the city's once great wealth. Scholarios contrasts the two types of memory in his apostrophe to his fallen city:

¹¹ Scholarios fondly recalls Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, ὧ τὰ ἡμέτερα συναποτεθνήκει πάντα δεινῶς (1:289) [together with whom all my fortune died dreadfully].

Ὡ πόλις, εἰ καὶ πένις ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις χρόνοις καὶ ἄοικος τῷ πλείονι
 μέρει καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἡμέραν συζῶσα καὶ γυμνὴ τῆς ἀδομένης
 περιουσίας ἐν ἅπασιν, ἐλευθέρᾳ μέντοι καὶ τοιούτους τρέφουσα τοὺς
 οἰκοῦντας καὶ Χριστῷ τὸ μεῖζον αὐτοὺς τρέφουσα· πόλις, τῇ μὲν φήμῃ
 τῆς ἀρχαίας ὑπεροχῆς καὶ τοῖς λειψάνοις τῆς προτέρας εὐδαιμονίας
 ἐξαίρετον ὡς εἰκὸς παρὰ πάντων ἀποφερομένη τὸ σέβας... ἡδίστη δὲ
 τοῖς ἐπιχωριάζουσι ξένοις ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν οἶων οὐκ εἰώδεσαν
 παραδόξων, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἄλλον οὐρανὸν ἤρπασμένοι... ἀδύνατος μὲν
 ἱστορηθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς μὴδ' ἅπαξ ἰδόντας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλάκις
 ἐπιδεδημηκόσι παραδοξοτέραν αἰετῆς ἀκοῆς τὴν θῆαν ἐγείρουσα, διὸ
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς ἀδυνάτου τῆς τῶν σῶν καλῶν ἱστορίας ἀφιστάμεθα νῦν.
 (1:287)

[O city, even if you were poor in your final years and uninhabited for the most part and living each day in fear and stripped in all respects of your celebrated wealth, you were free nonetheless, and you gave those who dwelled within you the nourishment of Christ abundantly. City, by the reputation of your ancient eminence and the ruins of your former prosperity you earned yourself the fitting and singular reverence of all. ... You were the sweetest city to the foreigners who came to you and enjoyed strange, unfamiliar wonders, as though they had been brought up into another heaven. ... You cannot be explained to those who did not see you even once, and, even to those who visited you often, you raised a spectacle always stranger still than any verbal account. I will now abandon the task of trying to explain your splendor, because it is impossible.]

These last three sentences, of course, we have heard before. Scholarios never even tries to describe the beauty of the city through physical imagery. His account contains not one physical description. Instead, he describes the reactions to those who saw Constantinople, thus evoking not sensory images but the emotions which such images cause. The absence of physical imagery is worth noting, since the ecphrasis, the description, was such an important part of Byzantine letters. Any Byzantine literary document written about a piece of art or architecture would typically contain a detailed ecphrasis. Writing a good ecphrasis was a fundamental skill Byzantine schoolchildren began to study as soon as they learned to write.¹² Why, then, does Scholarios not write an ecphrasis of Constantinople? If we take him at his face value, it is because he is not equal to the task and the city was too great for words. If we look beyond the surface of his rhetorical modesty and silence, however, we also see that Scholarios writes of his city not as a physical artifact or group of artifacts, but as a departed loved one. Accord-

¹² George A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, 54–72.

ingly, the deceased's physical appearance is less important than the emotional loss of the bereaved.

Ecphrases of Constantinople and the monuments therein were so common in Byzantine letters that, merely by mentioning the wonders of the city, Scholarios calls these ecphrases, written by his literary ancestors, to his audience's mind. Scholarios and his contemporaries never saw the celebrated wealth of which their city had been stripped. The Venetians and Franks had taken it away during the Fourth Crusade two hundred and fifty years before, but the late Byzantines continued to read about how wonderful their capital had been. Scholarios's contrast of the former wealth and abundance of Constantinople with its current poverty and emptiness is reminiscent of Francisco de Quevedo's sonnet, "A Roma sepultada en sus ruinas":

Buscas en Roma a Roma, ¡oh, peregrino!,
y en Roma misma a Roma no la hallas;
cadáver son las que ostentó murallas,
y tumba de sí propio el Aventino.
Yace donde reinaba el Palatino;
y limadas del tiempo, las medallas
más se muestran destrozo a las batallas
de las edades que blasón latino.
Sólo el Tíbre quedó, cuya corriente,
sí ciudad la regó, ya, sepultura,
la llora con funesto son doliente.
¡Oh, Roma!, en tu grandeza, en tu hermosura,
huyó lo que era firme, y solamente
lo fugitivo permanece y dura.¹³

[To Rome, Entombed in Her Ruins
[You look for Rome in Rome, O traveler!
And in very Rome you find not Rome:
A cadaver now what were her vaunted walls,
And the Aventine the graveyard of itself.
[Here lies, where once it reigned, the Palatine;
And the medallions, sanded by time,
Seem rather than Latin emblazonments
The rubble of battles of long ago.
[Only the Tiber remains; whose tide,
Having as a city watered her, now as a sepulchre

¹³ Francisco de Quevedo, *Poesía original completa*, 244–45.

Mourns her with grievous sound of weeping.
 [O Rome! Of your grandeur, of your beauty
 All that was solid has fled, and only
 The fugitive stays and endures.]¹⁴

Quevedo is a convenient point of comparison because, like most Baroque poets, he shared with the Byzantines a delight in the paradoxical. Before going on with the comparison of Scholarios and Quevedo, we will also mention a poem by the twelfth-century Byzantine writer Michael Choniates which was probably a direct influence on Scholarios and perhaps an indirect influence on Quevedo through the Latin humanists. Quevedo is known to have imitated. The line *οἰκῶν Ἀθήνας οὐκ Ἀθήνας που βλέπω*¹⁵ [Living in Athens, I see Athens nowhere], is strikingly similar to the opening line of Quevedo's sonnet, "You look for Rome in Rome." Just as Scholarios writes of Constantinople, Michael writes of Athens that it remains only in mental and literary images:

Ἔρωσ Ἀθηνῶν τῶν πάλαι θρυλουμένων
 ἔγραψε ταῦτα ταῖς σκιαῖς προσαδύρων
 καὶ τοῦ πόθου τὸ θάλπον ὑπαναψύχων.
 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδαμοῦ φεῦ προσβλέπειν
 αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν αἰοίδιμον πόλιν,
 τὴν δυσαρτίμου καὶ μακραίωνος χρόνου
 λήθης βυθοῖς κρύψαντος ἠφαντωμένην,
 ἔρωτολήπτων ἀτεχνῶς πάσχω πάθος,
 οἷ τὰς ἀληθεῖς τῶν ποδομένων θέας
 ἀμνηχανοῦντες τῶν παρόντων προσβλέπειν
 τὰς εἰκόνας ὀρῶντες αὐτῶν, ὡς λόγῳ,
 παραμυθοῦνται τῶν ἐρώτων τὴν φλόγα.
 Ὡς δυστυχῆς ἔγωγε, καινὸς Ἰξίων,
 ἐρῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς ἐκείνος τῆς Ἥρας,
 εἶτα λαθὼν εἰδωλὸν ἠγκαλισμένος.
 Φεῦ οἶα πάσχω καὶ λέγω τε καὶ γράφω·
 οἰκῶν Ἀθήνας οὐκ Ἀθήνας που βλέπω,
 κόνιν δὲ λυπρὰν καὶ κενὴν μακαρίαν.
 Ποῦ σοι τὰ σεμνά, τλημονεστάτη πόλις
 Ὡς φροῦδα πάντα καὶ κατάλληλα μύθοις
 δίκαι, δικασταί, βήματα, ψῆφοι, νόμοι,
 δημηγορίαι, πειθανάγκη ῥητόρων,
 βουλαί, πανηγύρεις τε καὶ στρατηγίαι
 τῶν πεζομάχων ἅμα καὶ τῶν ναυμάχων,

¹⁴ Translated by Kate Flores, in *Spanish Poetry: A Dual Language Anthology 16th–20th Centuries*, ed. Angel Flores, 141.

¹⁵ In *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: An Anthology*, ed. C. A. Trypanis, 56.

ἡ παντοδαπῆς Μοῦσα, τῶν λόγων κράτος.
 Ὅλωλε σύμπαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ κλέος·
 γνώρισμα δ' αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀμυδρόν τις ἴδοι.
 Συγγνωστός οὐκοῦν, εἴπερ οὐκ ἔχων βλέπειν
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἀοίδιμον πόλιν,
 ἴνδαλμα ταύτης γραφικὸν ἐστησάμην.¹⁶

[Love of ancient, legendary Athens
 Singing for the shades, wrote these things
 For cooling respite from desire's heat:
 There was no way for me to look upon
 That city, the one renowned in song.
 She has now vanished in the depths of Lethe,
 Who hides her in uncounted, enduring time.
 I suffer love-struck passion; but when lovers
 Cannot see the presence they desire
 They still may look upon true images.
 The vision of the represented form
 Soothes love's flame for them as if by speech.
 I, though, am a wretched new Ixion,
 In love with Athens as he was with Hera,
 Embracing, then, an idol unawares.
 Ah, the things I suffer, tell, and write.
 I live in Athens and see Athens nowhere,
 Just plaintive dust and hollow blessedness.
 Patient city, where is your majesty?
 These things have turned to myth and left no trace:
 Trials, judges, courts, elections, laws;
 The stern persuasion of the orators;
 The councils, festivals, and campaigns
 Of those who fought on land or at sea;
 The all-abundant muse, the force of words.
 All of Athens' glory is perished,
 And no faint token of her can be seen.
 Having no way to see the famous city
 Of the Athenians, then, I am forgiven
 The written phantom I have raised of her.]

Scholarios, like Quevedo after him and Michael before him, expresses the frustration of his desire to experience mimesis. Οὔτος οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, they all seems to say, "this one is not the same as that one," in contrast to the classical mimetic formula found in Aristotle's *Poetics*, οὔτος ἐκεῖνος. Accord-

¹⁶ Ibid., 57. I am indebted to Ruth Macrides for valuable suggestions on translating Michael's verse.

ing to Aristotle, *διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο χαίρουσι τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρῶντες, ὅτι συμβαίνει θεωροῦντας μανθάνειν καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι τί ἕκαστον, οἷον ὅτι οὗτος ἐκεῖνος* (1448b18). [The reason people enjoy seeing likeness is that, as they look, they learn and infer what each is. They say, for instance, “This one is the same as that one.”] In Scholarios’s lament, the physical remains of Constantinople are a cadaver, as are the walls of Quevedo’s Rome, and both writers address the cities as they would dead human beings. The poetic voice in Quevedo and Michael and the lamenting voice in Scholarios both express the surprise of a reader who has bought into the assumption of mimetic literature that art imitates life and is shocked to see that the object of art has no life left in it. The object of art, which is Athens in Michael’s case, Rome in Quevedo’s, and Constantinople, the new Rome, in Scholarios’s, now exists only in books and in the memory of those who read them. To refer once more to the expression *οὗτος ἐκεῖνος*, the *ἐκεῖνος* is a phantom for all three writers; and, for Scholarios and Quevedo, the *οὗτος* a cadaver, though death imagery is less immediately apparent in Michael. Here I am using *οὗτος*, “this one,” to refer to that which is physically present to the speaker and *ἐκεῖνος* “that one,” to that which exists in memory. As mimetic literature is generally understood, the *οὗτος* is an artistic reproduction of the *ἐκεῖνος*. The *οὗτος* itself can then become an object of mimesis and, as art goes on imitating art, posterity may come to regard it as an *ἐκεῖνος* worthy of imitation in its own right. But this ongoing process of art imitating art suddenly is jolted by reality when the artist is confronted with the cadaver of the object he intended to write about. Instead of producing art that imitates other art in a process that ultimately recreates some semi-mythical past, Michael, Scholarios, and Quevedo produce works of art that recreate the emotions that accompany a shocking encounter with death. Just as the speakers in these three pieces of literature initially expect to see the ancient cities still alive, so does the reader initially expect to read conventional odes to, or ecphrases of, these cities. However, the reality of death and decay overturns the expectations of the literary speaker, who likewise subverts the conventions of mimetic literature with the effect that the reader partakes in the feeling of defamiliarization, to use the formalist term.

Quevedo’s fascination with death provides a clear point of reference on which to base a comparison with any work of literature dealing with death, including Scholarios’s “Lament.” In Spanish literature, Quevedo is the poet of death *par excellence*. There is clearly a striking similarity between Quevedo’s opening verse and Michael’s *οἰκῶν Ἀθήνας οὐκ Ἀθήνας που βλέπω* [Living in Athens, I see Athens nowhere]. It is not, of course, my intention to posit any sort of genealogical link between Quevedo and Mi-

chael or Scholarios. The genealogy of Quevedo's sonnet can be traced back with certainty to the following poem by Janus Vitalis, from 1522 or 1523:

Qui Romam in media quaeris novus advena Roma
 Et Romam in Roma vix reperis media:
 Adspice murorum moles, praeruptaque saxa,
 Obrutaque horrenti vasta theatra situ.
 Haec sunt Roma. Viden' velut ipsa cadavera tantae
 Urbis adhuc spirent imperiosa minas?
 Vicit ut haec mundum, nisa est se vincere: vicit,
 A se non victum ne quid in orbe foret.
 Nunc victa in Roma, Roma illa invicta sepulta est;
 Atque eadem victrix, victaque Roma fuit.
 Albula Romani restabat nominis index.
 Quia fugit ille [sic] citis non rediturus aquis.
 Disce hinc quid possit fortuna; immota labascunt,
 Et, quae perpetuo sunt agitata, manent.¹⁷

[Stranger, newly seeking Rome in the midst of Rome.
 You hardly find Rome in Rome's very midst.
 Gaze upon the mass of steep stone walls,
 The huge, fallen theatres in dread decay.
 These things are Rome. Do you see, as though the lofty cadavers
 Of such a city do themselves inspire menace? quished,
 As she vanquished the world, she strove to vanquish herself. She van-
 Lest anything in the world should be unvanquished by her.
 Now, in vanquished Rome, unvanquished Rome is entombed,
 And Rome, the victor herself, is vanquished.
 The Tiber has remained to mark the glory of Rome,
 For it has fled in rapid currents, never to return.
 Learn from this what fortune can do. Immovable things slip away,
 And those that are perpetually moved remain.]

¹⁷ Cited in Malcolm Smith, "Looking for Rome in Rome," 513. Smith traces this topos back to Vitalis, though its origins are found even earlier in the works of the twelfth-century poet Hildebert of Lavardin. It is unlikely that Michael could have been familiar with Hildebert, especially prior to the Fourth Crusade, although further investigation of Michael's influences would certainly be warranted. The ultimate source of the "looking for Rome in Rome" topos, Hildebert's "vix Rome Roma recordor," can be found in his *Carmina Minora*, 25–27. To my knowledge, no one has yet studied the similarity between these lines from the two poets, but a different poem by Hildebert has been compared to Michael's epigram by Paul Magdalino in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ix–x, 144.

What Scholarios and Quevedo have in common with each other but not with Vitalis (who, ironically, wrote his poem a few years before Rome was sacked by Charles V in 1527) is that they draw an explicit comparison between mourning for the city and mourning for a deceased human. We have already examined how Scholarios does this, and, if we call to mind Quevedo's words, "La llora con funesto son doliente" [(The Tiber) Mourns her with grievous sound of weeping], we see how the Spanish poet, like the Greek orator, uses the language of death rituals to express grief for the city. Vitalis does evoke the imagery of human death by using the terms *cadavera* and *sepulta*, but, unlike Scholarios and Quevedo, Vitalis never alludes to the grief of the survivors. Instead, he describes the bodily remains and the monuments of the deceased without referring directly to funerals or laments. Michael is like Vitalis in that he does not refer to funerals or mourning for the dead. He talks about death even less than Vitalis, since the latter refers to the remains of the deceased although he does not mention the grief of the bereaved. The emotional reactions Vitalis describes are curiosity, wonder, and surprise, but not grief. Michael does indeed describe grief, but his grief is that of a lover, not a funeral mourner. The closest he comes to the language of death is the use of the verb ὀλλυμι, "to destroy," in line 26.

The comparison of Scholarios to Michael, Quevedo, and Vitalis makes several characteristics of Scholarios's lament readily apparent. First is the imagery of mourning and death rituals which Scholarios shares with Quevedo but not with either Michael or Vitalis, and which is clearly related to the fact that the city Scholarios laments was violently sacked. For reasons that hardly need to be spelled out, sudden physical violence is more likely than slow decay to provoke human grief. The bitterest laments are always for those who die violent deaths. A comparison of Quevedo to Vitalis, whom he imitated, makes this even more apparent. Vitalis's poem, written before the sack of Rome in 1527, does not evoke funeral imagery, whereas Quevedo's, written after the sack, does. A final point to mention in this comparison is that Michael laments primarily the intellectual decay of Athenian culture, while Vitalis and Quevedo focus on physical decay in their poems on Rome. Scholarios combines both the physical and spiritual aspects of the country's misfortune and does not know with which to begin: Οἴμοι· τί πρῶτον ὀδύρωμαι τὴν ἐν σώμασι δουλείαν Ἑλλήνων, ἢ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς φθορὰν... (1:285) [Alas, what should I bewail first? The physical enslavement of the Greeks, or the decadence in their souls ...?]

BYZANTIUM AND ORIENTALISM

Thus far, we have seen how Scholarios discusses separation from the West as well as his separation from his own cultural heritage, as he experienced it in the fall of Constantinople. We have compared his lament with several other works from world literature not on the fall, but on the decay of cities. Most of these works express a sense of grief, and all express a sense of surprise, that a civilization the speaker loved or admired no longer exists. Scholarios boldly accepted the title “carver of the Union” even though he felt that, by slicing apart the Union and cutting the Greeks off from Europe, he was helping to continue a series of events that would lead to the Byzantine Empire being destroyed and its citizens left to construct a new national identity. Since the fate of the Byzantine Empire in its later years was largely dependent on Western Europe, we turn now to a study of Byzantine–Western relations.

Scholars interested in West European colonialism would do well to examine Byzantium, since the Byzantines were one of the first non-Western peoples colonized by the West. Even critical theorists writing on Orientalism often display an uncritical acceptance of the Enlightenment-based supposition that Greece is not only a part of the West but somehow its foundation. Edward Said, for instance, projects nineteenth-century French Orientalist ideology onto ancient Greek writers as he discusses such classical texts as the *Iliad*, Euripides’ *Bacchae*, and Herodotos’s *History*, overlooking Herodotos of Halicarnassos’s own Oriental background. He neglects to mention Aristotle, who viewed the Greeks as neither European nor Asian, as the following quotation from the *Politics* indicates:

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην
 θυμοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης, διόπερ
 ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μάλλον, ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίων ἄρχειν
 οὐ δυνάμενα· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν
 ψυχὴν, ἄθυμα δέ, διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ· τὸ δὲ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων γένος, ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, οὕτως ἀμφοῖν
 μετέχει. καὶ γὰρ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν
 πάντων, μίᾳς τυγχάνον πολιτείας. τὴν αὐτὴν δ’ ἔχει τὴν φύσιν
 μονόκωλον, τὰ δὲ εὖ κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας.
 (1327b24–30)

[Those who live in a cold climate and in Europe are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill; and therefore they retain comparative freedom, but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive, but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a state of

subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race, which is situated between them, is likewise intermediate in character.]¹⁸

Though Aristotle's thought was later used to justify the subjugation of the world to the hegemony of Western Europe,¹⁹ Aristotle's prejudice was, in fact, of a sort quite distinct from that of the European conquerors during the age of discovery. The Orientalist ideology which Said criticizes in his famous book is based on the supposition that Europeans are disposed, by reason of race, culture, or both, to conquer, subjugate, civilize, and enlighten the rest of the world. Aristotle, in contrast, believed that Europeans were barely able to govern themselves, let alone control the rest of the world. Most importantly for our purposes here, Aristotle clearly separates Greece from Europe and states that it is the Asians rather than the Europeans who are most suited to empire-building, since those who live in cold climates are "incapable of ruling over others." The proto-Orientalism Said would have us find in Classical Greek literature is as foreign to Homer, Euripides, and Herodotos as it is to Aristotle, even if they do not explicitly contradict it as the Stagirite does. We will examine these three authors before turning our attention again to Scholarios and his own views on the division between Europe and Asia and the Greeks' relationship with the two continents and their various cultures.

In tracing the origins of Orientalism back to Homer, Said writes:

Almost from earliest times in Europe the Orient was something more than what was empirically known about it. At least until the early eighteenth century, as R. W. Southern has so elegantly shown, European understanding of one kind of Oriental culture, the Islamic, was ignorant but complex. For certain associations with the East—not quite ignorant, not quite informed—always seem to have gathered around the notion of an Orient. Consider first the demarcation between Orient and West. It already seems bold by the time of the *Iliad*.²⁰

Despite Said's statement to the contrary, the demarcation in the *Iliad* is really not very bold at all. No special significance is attached to the fact that Troy is east of Achaea, and there is certainly no notion of the Bosporos as a boundary between two monolithic geopolitical entities. While it is correct that the term "Europe" was used to refer strictly to central Greece in Ar-

¹⁸ The translation, by Benjamin Jowett, is from *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2:2107.

¹⁹ Aristotle's belief that some people were naturally disposed to be slaves (*Pol.* 1254b15) made him appealing to the imperialist mindset.

²⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 55–56.

chaic poetry,²¹ it is clear that, by the fourth century B.C., as we have seen in the case of Aristotle, there were at least some Greeks who did not think of Greece as being a part of Europe at all. Even in the Homeric hymns, the term “Europe” is simply a geographic designation for central Greece with no ideological significance attached to it.

Herodotos does, it is true, begin his *History* with an account of how Greeks and Asians throughout history had been fighting wars, the cause of which was usually the abduction of a woman. Europa herself was, of course, an Asian king’s daughter who was abducted and carried off to a part of the land which would eventually bear her name. However, it is evident that Herodotos basically shared Aristotle’s view of Greece’s relation to Europe and Asia. For Herodotos, the Greeks were a part of the civilized world, which included the other nations of Asia and Africa. I say “other” nations of Asia and Africa because many Greeks, including Herodotos himself, were also Asians. The overall sense we get from his *History* is that the Greeks of Asia Minor are every bit as Greek as Athenians, Peloponnesians, or anyone else. He writes very little of the non-Greek parts of Europe because they do not interest him, and his work does not suggest that the Greeks have anything in common with the nations to their west. Herodotos’s *History* is really the account of a series of conflicts among the various nations of what Herodotos considered the civilized world. While his primary concern is the Persian War, he is not exclusively concerned with discussing the history of Greek versus non-Greek. In fact, the first conflict he mentions, at the very beginning of his book, is one between two Asian peoples: Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς (1.1) [The learned among the Persians say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the conflict]. The story in question is that of the abduction of Io, which, in Herodotos, takes on the significance of the prime mover of human conflict. The series of wars stemming from this root cause comes to involve all nations of humanity, including non-Asian Greeks as well as Asian Greeks.

Said is right not to project Orientalist ideology explicitly onto Herodotos, though he does project it onto Homer and Euripides. Perhaps the reason is that he recognizes Herodotos’s own Oriental background:

From at least the second century B.C. on, it was lost on no traveler or eastward-looking and ambitious Western potentate that Herodotus—historian, traveler, inexhaustibly curious chronicler—and Alexander—king warrior, scientific conqueror—had been in the Orient before. The

²¹ *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 291, in Homer, *Homeric Opera*, vol. 5.

Orient was therefore subdivided into realms previously known, visited, conquered, by Herodotus and Alexander as well as their epigones, and those realms not previously known, visited, conquered. Christianity completed the setting up of main intra-Oriental spheres: there was a Near Orient and a Far Orient, a familiar Orient ... and a novel Orient.²²

Said's focus here is not so much on Herodotus's own thought as on how Herodotus has been used and appropriated by subsequent generations. I have included the final sentence about Christianity as an example of how Said discusses Christianity almost exclusively as a foreign, non-Oriental force, which is perplexing given Said's own background.²³

Said writes of Euripides:

In *The Bacchae*, perhaps the most Asiatic of all the Attic dramas, Dionysos is explicitly connected with his Asian origins and with the strangely threatening excesses of Oriental mysteries. Pentheus, king of Thebes, is destroyed by his mother, Agave, and her fellow bacchantes. Having defied Dionysos by not recognizing either his power or his divinity, Pentheus is thus horribly punished, and the play ends with a general recognition of the eccentric God's terrible power. Modern commentators on *The Bacchae* have not failed to note the play's extraordinary range of intellectual and aesthetic effects; but there has been no escaping the additional historical detail that Euripides "was surely affected by the new aspect that the Dionysiac cults must have assumed in the light of the foreign ecstatic religions of Bendis, Cybele, Sabazius, Adonis, and Isis, which were introduced from Asia Minor and the Levant and swept through Piraeus and Athens during the frustrating and increasingly irrational years of the Peloponnesian War."²⁴

Said should not be singled out for misreading the *Bacchae*, since his interpretation is common, although I do not believe it is sound. Dionysos is not a threatening, foreign divinity, but a benevolent god whom Pentheus is punished for blaspheming against. "Bacchic revelry," as we now use the term, was not really the point of the ancient cult of Dionysos. Dionysos was a god not of wild, orgiastic excess, but of the controlled, moderate consumption of alcohol. Archaeological records demonstrate this as well as literary texts. For instance, temples of Dionysos were built within city walls, whereas temples of gods who were considered threatening, such as Aphro-

²² Said, *Orientalism*, 57–58.

²³ Said's own family was a part of the Anglican Christian community of Palestine, as he relates in *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*.

²⁴Said, *Orientalism*: 56–57. Said's quotation is from Geoffrey S. Kirk's introduction to *The Bacchae*, 3.

dite and Ares, were built outside the city proper.²⁵ The underlying fear was that too much of the influence of Aphrodite and Ares would lead to adultery and violence, respectively; but no such precautions were taken in the case of Dionysos since, contrary to the post-Nietzschean view we now have of the god, it was not believed that his influence would lead to improper conduct.²⁶

The *Bacchae* is the story of an abortive attempt at coming of age. Pentheus fails to complete a rite of passage. His attempt to be inducted into the mysteries of Dionysos leaves him instead with a skewed perception of reality, as we see in the following verses he addresses to the god:

καὶ μὴν ὄραῖν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ,
 δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλιν ἐπτάστομον·
 καὶ ταῦρος ἡμῖν πρόσθεν ἡγεῖσθαι δοκεῖς
 καὶ σῶι κέρατα κρατὶ προσπεφυκέναι.
 ἀλλ' ἢ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ τεταύρωσαι γὰρ οὖν. (917–22)

[It seems that I see two suns
 and the seven-gated city of Thebes is doubled.
 And it seems that you lead me like a bull
 and that horns have grown on your head.
 Were you an animal before? For now you have become a bull.]

Pentheus's failure to fulfill the Dionysian initiation ritual, and hence to honor the god, results in a warped perception of the god, the city, and reality in general that ultimately leads to his death. The *Bacchae* was performed at the festival of Dionysos to honor the god, and the story of Pentheus serves the didactic purpose of warning young men of the necessity of honoring Dionysos properly. To state this is by no means to detract from the tremendous psychological depth and artistic subtlety of the play. It simply needs to be pointed out that Dionysos's supposedly foreign origins do not prevent Euripides from giving the deity full honor. Since the cult of Dionysos is attested in Greece as early as the Linear B tablets from the mid thirteenth century B.C., it is questionable how "foreign" he can really be considered anyway.

²⁵ For a discussion of the cult of Dionysos, see Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste*. For information on the cult of Aphrodite, see Vincianne Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque*.

²⁶ I am grateful to Gregory Nagy for listening to and commenting on my interpretations of these classical texts. Anything correct I say about them is thanks to his input and support, and any errors I make are entirely my own.

The profound changes that Greek civilization had undergone by Scholarios's time did not serve to unify the Greek people with Western Europe. That Constantinople was technically a part of Europe is a fact Scholarios tries to downplay in his own writings, linking his city instead to Asia, where Christ was born and the great events of the Old Testament were played out. After explaining salvation history in terms of a military metaphor in which the soldiers of Christ gain victory, Scholarios stresses the importance of Eastern lands in biblical as well as post-biblical times:

Ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γὰρ ἡ μωσαϊκὴ πρότερον ἐδόθη παρασκευή· ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ τελειότατος ἐσπάρη νόμος καὶ ἐρριζώθη καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν καμάτων ἐξηγήθησεν· ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐξεχύθη πρότερον αἷματα· ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ τῆς πίστεως ἐδοκιμάσθη στρατεία, καὶ τὴν νίκην ἔλαβον οἱ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶται καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους· ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτα αἱ παρὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις αἰκίαι, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ συνισταμένων τρόπαια... Συναριθμῶ δὲ ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ ταύτῃ γῆν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐγγύθεν οὖσαν ἐκείνοις, στενωπατάτης μόνον διεργούσης θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῷ κοινωνεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ στρατείᾳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ, τῆς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λαμπρότητος καὶ ἡγήσασθαι ταύτην ἐκείνοις, τῇ τάξει μὴ μόνον τῆς Ἀσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης τότε προϊσταμένην. (3:290–91)

[It was in Asia that the Mosaic preparation (for the gospel) was first granted. It was also in that land that the final, perfect law was planted, took root, and blossomed through many hardships. In that land the blood of the martyrs was first spilled. In that land the army of the faithful was put to the test, and the soldiers of Christ won victory and crowns. The heretics' affronts to the church took place there, as did the triumphs of the Church and her supporters over them. ... I number this city and the surrounding region among those [Asian] places not only because of its proximity, separated as it is only by a narrow strait of sea, but also because it participated with them in the earlier campaign and victory to lead in the splendor that followed them and preside over Asia and all the world.]

Scholarios is aware that his "Europe" and "Asia" are defined by ideology rather than geography. His East is an imagined community united by adherence to the true faith from the time of the Old Testament to his own day. He does not hesitate to concede that his community of faith is imagined, at least as the term is defined by Benedict Anderson, who differentiates between "imagination" and "fabrication."²⁷ Scholarios is quite ready to move the boundary between Europe and Asia from the Bosphoros slightly

²⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

Westward to place himself, his city, and his fellow believers in the land of Moses and Jesus.

As we read in the above quotation, Scholarios considers Christianity an Asian rather than a European religion. This much is never in doubt, though he is not always consistent in his cultural identification with Asia over Europe. His writings, like those of a great many Christian thinkers, exhibit a tension between his religious need to honor the ancient Hebrews above all other pre-Christian peoples and the tremendous cultural importance of Greece and Rome. Like the Orientalists Said criticizes, Scholarios believed that Greeks and Romans were superior to people of other cultures, saying in his address to Constantinople that the city combined *ἄμφω τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις γενῶν* (1:287) [the two finest among the races of men]. It is hard to imagine how in this context he could be referring to anyone other than the Greeks and the Romans, despite what he said elsewhere about the spiritual primacy of Asia and his wish to identify himself and his people with that continent. Sometimes it is better to let Scholarios contradict himself than to seek an interpretation that would bring all his works into harmony. We ought not try to reconcile Scholarios's statement about the centrality of Asia in salvation history, whose ancient protagonists were Jews, with his apparent belief in Greek and Roman superiority. Scholarios was simply one of many Christians, both Greek and Latin, for whom the tension between the Biblical and the Classical was never entirely resolved. The matter was even more problematic for him than for other Greeks because he had such an intense personal admiration for Latin culture, which, no matter how one divided the world ideologically or geographically, was Western. Even after Scholarios receives the scholarly attention he deserves and which John Meyendorff called for, he may well remain "an intellectual enigma."²⁸

One aspect of Scholarios's thought which is unambiguous, however, is his assumption that the Greeks are an Eastern people. The reason it is so difficult for him psychologically to separate East from West is not that he views the Greeks as a people on the frontier between the two regions, but that his admiration for the culture of the Latin West is unusually high. When he writes to Loukas Notaras of his "battle alone against the whole of Europe," it is clear that neither he nor his intended reader considers himself European. Even when he asserts that Rome, like Greece, was one of the world's superior cultures, he strives to contradict rather than corroborate Western Europe's claim to be the inheritors of the Classical world.

²⁸ Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 112.

Scholarios makes an opposing claim on the cultural legacy of antiquity based not on a renaissance but on a continuity of the Classical tradition in a culture that combined Roman government and law with Greek learning and culture. His city, he recalls in tones of ancestral nostalgia, inherited from Eastern civilizations “the splendor that followed them” and acted as a melting pot where the “two finest races,” Greek and Roman, could mingle. Once the mingling had taken place, however, and the East had received the West’s laws along with whatever Latin cultural influences it could use, Scholarios saw it as his responsibility to step in as the *tomeus*, the separator, splitting his people from the West and rejoining them to the East.

There was a strong intellectual current in late Byzantine society that grew increasingly receptive to the cultural, rather than merely the political, heritage of Latin Antiquity and the Latin Middle Ages. Maximos Planoudes, translator of Latin literary as well as theological texts, was a remarkable representative of this trend in Byzantium, and Scholarios’s career in many ways represented the trend’s zenith.²⁹ Yet another reason Byzantine Studies should be of interest to scholars concerned with Orientalism and the intellectual construction of the West is that Byzantium not only counted among the first victims of the West’s imperial ambitions, but also produced a rival, though doomed, vision of Greece and Rome’s cultural legacy. Here Scholarios is of particular importance because other Byzantine Latinists, such as Bessarion, might be said to have bought into, and even contributed to, the notion of Western cultural superiority by seeking to unite the Greeks under the Papacy. Scholarios, in contrast, remained a great admirer of Latin culture although he staunchly opposed union with the West.

Said demonstrates his awareness that Orientalism dates back to the Middle Ages and was originally as concerned with Greece as with other Oriental cultures, if not more so:

Strictly speaking, Orientalism is a field of learned study. In the Christian West, Orientalism is considered to have commenced its formal existence with the decision of the Church Council of Vienne in 1312 to establish a series of chairs in “Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca.”³⁰

In spite of this recognition, Said’s in-depth study of Orientalism begins in 1798 with Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt. A look at Greek history would reveal that this was shortly before the war of Greek Independence, when many Greeks were downplaying the Byzantine and Eastern elements of

²⁹ For more on Planoudes, see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 230–41.

³⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 49–50, quoting Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 72.

their own culture and embracing a West European stereotype of their own past in order to secure Western support. As at the Council of Florence, Western support had to come at the price of certain aspects of Greek identity that offended Western sensibilities. But this time the Greeks accepted the compromise because there was now a third alternative to the Turk's turban and the Cardinal's mitre: the Enlightenment philosopher's powdered wig. Much of Europe wanted to help the Greeks because Europe originated in Greece, according to notions common at the time. Culture began with the Greeks, who once walked among stark, white, broken marble statues of themselves. Runciman describes the relations between Greeks and the West in the years after the fall of Constantinople with his usual eloquence:

Western Europe, with ancestral memories of jealousy of Byzantine civilization, with its spiritual advisers denouncing the Orthodox as sinful schismatics, and with a haunting sense of guilt that it had failed the city at the end, chose to forget about Byzantium. It could not forget the debt it owed to the Greeks; but it saw the debt as being owed only to the Classical age. The Philhellenes who came to take part in the War of Independence spoke of Themistocles and Pericles but never of Constantine. Many intellectual Greeks copied their example, led astray by the evil genius of Korais, the pupil of Voltaire and of Gibbon, to whom Byzantium was an ugly interlude of superstition, best ignored.³¹

As early as the fifteenth century, when Western interest in Greece began to accelerate in the phenomenon Vasari would later call the Renaissance, there were already Greeks, like Scholarios, who wished to separate themselves from Europe. Scholarios was already challenging notions that Greece was either a monolithic entity or a unifying force in Western civilization. His was a voice of dis-union. His work deals with ruptures and separations and is itself full of abrupt stylistic and generic changes. He was not only a dividing force, but an internally divided one as well. In ways we have discussed in the previous chapter, the anti-Westerner was, ironically, a Westernizer; the opponent of the Latin Church was a devoted admirer of Thomas Aquinas and his translator from Latin to Greek. The monk who first lamented that the fall of his city would mean the end of his own fame later lived to see Mehmet the Conqueror turn the decaying city into a vibrant metropolis. His own career even prospered as Mehmet appointed him archbishop upon the unanimous advice of the Greek community. All these contradictions made some scholars of earlier generations figure that there must have been two, or even three, men named George Scholarios. Of

³¹ Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, 190.

course, there was only one. Rather than two or three men with consistent views, each showing the world a united front, there was one complex individual.

It has generally been not Scholarios the divider, but Scholarios the unifier who has attracted the most interest from scholars; yet, as we have seen, Scholarios did not flinch when cast in the role of the “carver of union.” Despite the consciously anti-Western stance he adopted in the second half of his life, the clear influence of Roman Catholic Scholasticism he continued to exhibit throughout his career gave his work a certain appeal in the eyes of Catholic apologists during the Counter-Reformation and beyond. Eusèbe Renaudot (1646–1720), a French Orientalist devoted to upholding “the antiquity of the Eucharistic faith of the Eastern Churches against the Calvinistic doctrine,”³² published a dissertation *De Gennadii Vita et Scriptis* in 1709,³³ which remains one of the more reliable sources of biographic information on Scholarios. Given Renaudot’s scholarly and theological intent, he could not have asked for a better ally than Scholarios: a Greek who upheld the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation while holding no bias whatsoever in favor of the Western Church. Jugie writes of the significance to Catholic apologists of Scholarios’s *Sermon on the Eucharist*:

Le *Sermon sur l’Euchariste* ... est particulièrement célèbre et important. Il servit, au début du XVIII^e siècle, aux théologiens catholiques d’argument apodictique pour démontrer aux Protestants que l’Eglise grecque ne répugnait pas à la doctrine de la Transsubstantiation non seulement en ce qu’elle présente de strictement dogmatique, mais aussi en son explication philosophique la plus communément reçue. Cette explication, Georges Scholarios la fait pleinement sienne avec les termes mêmes de l’Ecole.³⁴

Scholarios seemed to prove the universality of Rome’s teaching, but in truth the matter was quite a bit more complicated. Scholarios did indeed write in favor of the doctrine of transubstantiation, using the Greek term *μετουσίωσις* (1:126), a calque based on the Latin *transsubstantio*. However, Scholarios’s opinions on the Eucharist were influenced quite a bit less by East Christian antiquity than by Medieval Latin Scholasticism. Renaudot does an admirable job of assembling patristic passages in support of his

³² F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. Renaudot, E., 1383.

³³ PG 160 cols. 249–312.

³⁴ In Scholarios, *Œuvres complètes*, 1:xliv.

thesis,³⁵ but nevertheless, no systematic eucharistic theology is readily apparent to the reader of the Greek fathers. Systematic theology, which Scholarios found so appealing even after his break with Rome, was the product of the Latin Middle Ages and is not typically found among the Greek fathers. Renaudot was aware that a great many Greeks disagreed with Scholarios's westernizing tendencies, and that it was a common insult among the Greeks to call certain of their countrymen "Λατινόφρονες ... non Graecos legitimos" [Latinophiles ... not actual Greeks].³⁶ When Scholarios first used the term μετουσίωσις, he was the exception rather than the rule, but Latin influence continued in the Orthodox Church throughout the period of Ottoman rule to such a degree that the patriarch Jeremias II defended the doctrine of transubstantiation as Orthodox in his correspondence with Lutheran theologians in 1576–81.³⁷

Renaudot's greatest contribution to the study of Scholarios was to dispel the notion that there were two or three men named George Scholarios writing at the same time. Joseph Gill gives an account of this idea and its proponents:

How many men of the name of George Scholarius were involved in the controversies of the Council of Florence—one, two or three? The extremely learned Leo Allatius at the beginning of the seventeenth century was convinced that there were three; John Caryophilus, nearly as learned as Allatius and a contemporary of his, decided for two. Nowadays no one seriously upholds that there was ever more than one. The reason for this wide divergence of opinion is that during the Council a Scholarius spoke and wrote openly and forcefully in favour of union, and after the Council a Scholarius was the very leader of the anti-unionists, who by his action and writing did more than any other single

³⁵ Eusèbe Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*.

³⁶ Renaudot, *De Gennadii*, 252. The question arises in Renaudot's discussion of Cyril Loukaris, a seventeenth-century patriarch heavily influenced by Calvinism, who attempted to bring about a Calvinist reformation in the Orthodox Church. Patriarchs after Scholarios, Loukaris included, continued to be influenced by the West, some favoring Roman Catholicism and others, Protestantism. The more astute, such as Jeremias II, tried to ensure Orthodoxy's survival by playing the two sides against each other in ways which were often quite subtle. The reader interested in Loukaris, Jeremias II, and other patriarchs of the Turkocratia is referred to H. Gunnar, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und Europäische Politik, 1620–1638*, and, for a more general overview, Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*.

³⁷ Jeremias' letters to the Lutherans are contained in Karmires, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Monuments*, vol. 2.

person, with the exception of Mark Eugenicus perhaps, to defeat the union. It was, however, the same Scholarius.³⁸

Renaudot's criticism of Allatius and Caryophilus was blunt: "Excusari plane non possunt Graeci duo, Matthaëus Caryophilus archiepiscopus Iconiensis, et Leo Allatius Corcyraeus, qui hanc primi luserunt fabulam"³⁹ [Two Greeks, Matthew Caryophilus, archbishop of Iconium, and Leo Allatius of Corfu, simply cannot be excused, as they were the first to perpetrate this nonsense]. Though no one maintains the existence of a second or third Scholarios anymore, there are still attempts to deny his internal contradictions. While no one says any longer that Scholarios's early pro-Union treatises were authored by a second Scholarios, there are those who argue that they were forgeries, not written by Scholarios at all but composed as part of a conspiracy to obscure the anti-Roman stance Scholarios supposedly held throughout his life. The most noteworthy proponent of this argument is Theodoros Zeses, whose work Barbour calls "so egregiously lacking in seriousness and so clearly polemical that it would be a waste of time to refute it directly."⁴⁰ According to Zeses, Scholarios's motivation in studying Scholasticism was to develop a deeper understanding of Western theology in order to refute it more effectively:

Ὁ Σχολάριος κατὰ προσωπικὴν διαπίστωσιν μέσα ἀπὸ τὰ πράγματα βεβαιώνει τὸ σοβαρὸν μειονέκτημα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας τῆς δυτικῆς θεολογίας καὶ θεωρεῖ ἀπαραίτητον τὴν μετάφρασιν βασικῶν ἔργων πρὸς ἐνημέρωσιν καὶ κατατοπισμὸν.⁴¹

³⁸ Gill, *Personalities*, 79.

³⁹ Renaudot, *De Gennadii*, 250.

⁴⁰ Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 10. Other negative reviews of Zeses have been written by J. Darrouzès, in the *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, and A. Eszer, "Giorgio-Gennadio Scholarios e S. Tommaso d'Aquino." Woodhouse does not directly support Zeses' claims, though his comments are considerably more positive than those of the other reviewers:

All impressed upon the Greeks the importance of agreeing to the Union. Scholarios was also reputed to have addressed them to the same effect. The text of his statement survives, along with other addresses attributed to him at the Council. But in so far as these appear to express support for the Union on Latin terms without qualification, they have been challenged as probably spurious. (*George Gemistos Plethon*, 173)

The challenge Woodhouse refers to is, of course, that of Zeses. Zeses' assertion that Scholarios never changed his mind about Union seems unfounded even if it does turn out to be true that a couple of pro-Union speeches attributed to him are not authentic.

⁴¹ Zeses, *Gennadios II Scholarios*, 365.

[Scholarios, through what he has personally ascertained in the matters, confirms the serious disadvantage of the Easterners because of their ignorance of Western theology, and he considers it necessary to translate the basic works for purposes of familiarization and information.]

Even Zeses acknowledges that Scholarios's admiration for Thomas was genuine,⁴² but the gist of his work is that Scholarios opposed Scholasticism and the West in general from the beginning to the end of his days and that he only familiarized himself with it to argue better against it. If that were the case, he surely would not have advocated so distinctly Western a doctrine as the Immaculate Conception. Yet he did, and, what is more, he did so in a piece which is pastoral rather than polemical and thus clearly not a forgery.⁴³

While allegations of a conspiracy to suppress the real Scholarios are far-fetched, they, like most conspiracy theories, originate in a fact whose significance has been greatly exaggerated. In this case, the kernel of fact which gave birth to the allegations is that Martin Jugie was quite unsympathetic to late Byzantine spirituality in general and found Scholarios appealing precisely because Scholarios's Augustinianism and Thomism made him unusual, as we see in Jugie's parody of Scholarios's apostrophe to Thomas:

Plût au ciel, ô excellent Georges; que tu ne fusses pas né sur les rives du Bosphore, mais sur les bords du Tibre ou de la Seine! Tu n'aurais pas été tenté de défendre mordicus ce *dogme national*, dont après tout, *comme en témoignent tes écrits*, tu n'étais pas absolument sûr, et que tu aimais tant, tu serais un astre brillant sans aucune ombre dans l'Eglise qui n'a jamais connu de déviation doctrinale!⁴⁴

The passage from Scholarios which Jugie alludes to is:

Εἶδε ὁ βέλτιστε Θωμᾶ μὴ ἐγένου ἐν ἐσπέρῃ, ἵνα καὶ εἶχες ἀνάγκην τῶν ἐκτροπῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης ὑπερδικεῖν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσει καὶ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας πεπόνθει· ἥ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θεολογικοῖς σου ἀδιάπτωτος ᾗσθα, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς τούτοις εἶ. (6:1)

[O most excellent Thomas, would that you had not been born in the West. Then you would not have needed to defend the deviations of that Church on matters like the procession of the Spirit and the distinction between essence and energies. Then you would have been as blameless in theology as you are in ethics.]

⁴² Ibid., 437.

⁴³ "Sermon on the Feast of the Assumption," 1:197–210.

⁴⁴ Martin Jugie, "Georges Scholarios et Saint Thomas D'Aquin," 435.

A. N. Williams has remarked that Jugie's "tendentious views of Orthodoxy in general and Palamas in particular have powerfully shaped the history of interpretation and reception."⁴⁵ One of the most widespread stereotypes of Palamism is that it is symptomatic of a Byzantine fondness for the irrational. The opposite is true, and, contrary to yet another stereotype, in this vitally important case it is the East which takes a cataphatic approach while the West remains apophatic. The Palamite distinction, by stating that human beings can participate in the energies of God but not his essences, articulates how deification can occur without leading to pantheism, while the Western church does not systematically address the issue.

Williams makes another valuable observation about the mutual stereotypes that abound in the debates on Palamism:

The use of logic is the most straightforward issue. Accusations have come from both parties to the dispute. The East maintains that Western theology generally, and Aquinas' writings in particular, have used logic improperly; the standard complaint is against syllogisms. The West criticizes the East's supposed irrationality, particularly in relation to the use of, and appeals to, antinomy. Neither charge holds up very well under scrutiny.⁴⁶

Considering Byzantine, rather than modern Orthodox, polemics against the West, it is quite rare for a Greek writer to criticize the Latins for using logic in theology. The Greeks often criticized the Westerners on the ground that their reasoning was incorrect, but seldom on the ground that they applied reason to matters of religion.⁴⁷ As Williams observes, the Palamite controversy is often portrayed as a clash between the "irrational-

⁴⁵ A. N. Williams, *The Ground of Union: Deification in Aquinas and Palamas*, 5. For a discussion of the Palamite controversy framed in terms of the "rational" vs. the "mystical," see Lowell Clucas, "The Triumph of Mysticism in Byzantium in the Fourteenth Century." It also needs to be brought to the reader's attention that the controversy between Palamas and his contemporaries such as Barlaam of Calabria was not the same as the controversy between Palamism and Thomism in later generations. Palamas's views on Thomas are not known, and Barlaam was bitterly anti-Thomist. The conflict between Palamas and Barlaam was, in fact, started by Palamas's hostile response to an anti-Thomist piece by Barlaam. For more on this see Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 26–30.

⁴⁶ Williams, *Ground of Union*, 165.

⁴⁷ A good example of such an anti-Western polemic by a Byzantine is Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Kata Akinaton* [Against Aquinas]. For a survey of Byzantine attitudes to Scholasticism, see Stylianos Papadopoulos, *Orthodoxos kai scholastikē theologia* [Orthodox and Scholastic theology].

ism” of Palamas and Western “rationalism.” This is misleading for many reasons. One of the very few Byzantines to make the connection between the application of logic to theology on the one hand and West European culture on the other was Nikephoros Gregoras, but he was both anti-Palamite and anti-Western. Palamas and Barlaam both claimed Aristotelian logic could support their arguments.⁴⁸ A question that needs to be investigated is the extent to which Barlaam, Gregoras, their contemporaries, and their successors believed that “logic” and “Aristotelian syllogistic reasoning” were one and the same. Modern logic has quite a bit more to do with Euclidean deduction than with Aristotelian syllogism, and the medievals were all equally misguided from a modern perspective if they believed that whoever was most Aristotelian was most logical. The medievals seem to have viewed Euclid strictly as a geometer and Aristotle as the logician *par excellence*. Of course, some medieval thinkers, notably Anselm, did use deductive reasoning, but formal training in logic apparently consisted almost entirely of studying Aristotelian syllogism. Euclid the geometer and Aristotle the logician were studied separately as the masters of their respective liberal arts, and it was not until much later that the fundamental role of Euclidean reasoning in logic was understood. Logicians and Classicists seem to take each other’s word for it that Aristotle was the father of logic, but perhaps when both start looking at the issue more critically, the title will be given to Euclid instead. We raise this question here because of an important need in Medieval Studies, but further investigation of it would fall outside our present scope.

Mark of Ephesos himself, the staunchest anti-Western Palamite present at the Council of Florence, composed a treatise entitled *Syllogistic Chapters against the Latins* in refutation of the *filioque*.⁴⁹ This treatise of Mark’s is, as the title would suggest, quite cataphatic. Though the Byzantines typically favored reverent silence on matters of faith, they could be quite painstaking in their detail when they felt precision was necessitated by crisis. This was as true of the anti-Latins in the days of Constantine XI as it had been of the anti-Arians in the days of Constantine I. However, dogmatic precision typically arose in Byzantium only in response to controversy that could not be resolved otherwise, and thus Byzantium did not develop a tradition like that

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the various positions on the relationship of faith to reason held by Barlaam, Palamas, and Nikephoros Gregoras, see Katerina Ierodiakonou, “The Anti-Logical Movement in the Fourteenth Century.”

⁴⁹ *Kephalaia syllogistika pros Latinous* (PG 161:12–244).

of the Western Scholastics, who formulated dogma for the sake of dogma rather than for the sake of resolving conflict.

It was the Western propensity for making new dogma that led to Byzantium's most frequent charge against Roman Catholicism: that Rome was the cradle of innovation. Scholarios bitterly resented the Western attempt to impose what he regarded as novel religious doctrines on the East, and he perceived a link between Western ideological imperialism and military imperialism: *Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐδύνατο μόνος ὁ Ῥώμης καινοτομεῖν, τίς ἦν τῶν πατριαρχικῶν εἰδώλων ἡ χρεία* (3:78) [If it is legitimate for the Bishop of Rome to innovate by himself, what, then, is the point of the phantom patriarchates?] He asked this in reference to the titular Latin patriarchs of Eastern cities whose origins traced back to the conquest of Eastern patriarchates by the Crusaders, and his implication is that the establishment of such patriarchates was an unwitting admission by Rome of the need for episcopal consensus instead of a monarchical papacy. Thus, some fifty years before the conquest of the Americas, Scholarios was already attacking Western Europe's practice of forcing its ideology on foreign populations and instituting puppet governments, new power structures, and new systems of thought to legitimate and perpetuate its own imperialist enterprise.

His basis for critiquing the West was not that the West was rationalistic (indeed, that was a Western trait he respected), but that it was imperialistic and innovative. The twin spirits of imperialism and innovation would propel the West to a position of world domination that it still has not entirely lost. Modern anti-Western Orthodox writers sometimes show a tendency to project their own reaction against Western rationalism onto the Byzantines, but to do so is not really to understand the Byzantines on their own terms. This trend within Orthodoxy is akin to other anti-imperialist ideologies, such as negritude, which seek not to disprove stereotypes but, in a sense, to embrace them and in so doing subvert the values of the dominant culture.⁵⁰ In this respect, Orthodox antirationalism may not be entirely

⁵⁰ Philotheos Faros writes:

The more Orthodox people have been exposed to Western Christianity or to Anglo-Saxon culture (and many times it is difficult to say which is which), the more they seem to feel embarrassed about the lack of intellectual sophistication in Orthodoxy. It seems that those Orthodox have to some extent the psychology of the peasant who feels embarrassed when he comes in contact with city people because he is not as corrupted as they are. One of the basic characteristics of Western Christian anthropology is that it considers the intellect the center of human existence. In Eastern Christian thought the center of human existence is the heart. (*Functional and Dysfunctional Christianity*, 13)

Fr. Georgios Metallinos of the University of Athens has stated, "The essence of the

unhealthy, but it does not help us understand what the Byzantines disliked about Western thought. It is quite a bit more fashionable now to criticize Enlightenment Rationalism than to criticize innovation, since nearly all moderns would agree that innovation is admirable. The Greek word *καινοτομία* has, accordingly, taken on very positive connotations in the modern form of the language. However, it was largely Byzantium's conservatism that allowed for its longevity, as Warren Treadgold notes in his observation that "Byzantium had weaknesses corresponding to Western strengths and strengths corresponding to Western weaknesses."⁵¹ Since we have now come full circle and returned to the topic with which this volume started, the differences between the Byzantine and Western religious world-views, we may soon conclude.

western theological alienation is the entrapment within the ancient Greek thought, by philosophizing, legalizing and rationalizing faith," thus linking legalism and rationalism. Elsewhere in the same speech he explicitly links his anti-Western stance to the broader discourse of post-colonialism:

Another impact, apart from serfdom, is colonialism. Colonialism is the extension abroad of the internal slavery structure. The western individualism (individual domination at the expense of others) is completely different from the Eastern one, which has a social-community character. (Speech at the February 1995 Theological Conference in Pirgos, Greece)

⁵¹ Treadgold, *History*, xix.

CONCLUSION

The research that has gone into this study has confirmed my agreement with Barbour's comment that "Gennadios has a way of disappointing the expectations of proponents of 'pure positions' within the currents of thought of which he made use."¹ No single school of thought can claim him as its product.

Notwithstanding the peculiarity of his hybrid system, Scholarios's theology was influential through the distribution of his *Concerning the Only Way for the Salvation of Men* and the success of his avid reader Eugenios Boulgares.² The aspect of his religious thought that has attracted the most attention recently is his "Palamite-Thomism," but Scholarios did nothing to reconcile the two schools of thought where he believed they diverged. He was a Palamite who admired Thomas except where Thomas contradicted Palamas directly, in which case Scholarios parted company with the Angelic Doctor. I do not agree with Runciman's assessment of Scholarios:

He was a Palamite, but in order to reconcile Palamism with his scholastic tastes he blurred the Palamite distinction between essence and operation, considering the latter to be only formally finite but really infinite because it had the same being as essence which was infinite. Palamas would not have approved of that interpretation.³

Runciman does not say why Palamas would not have approved, and truly it is not clear that he would not have. Scholarios's intention is to prove that God's energies are infinite, which is completely in accord with Palamas's teaching. Use of such terms as "formally" and "really" do indicate Scholarios's Scholastic background, but terminology alone does not blur the Palamite distinction. Joost Van Rossum is correct in arguing, "The 'palamite Thomists' in Byzantium did not intend to reconcile Palamism with Thomism. Gennadios rejected explicitly Thomas' doctrine of the divine essence

¹ Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 10.

² Ibid., 111; Pelikan, *Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, 242.

³ Runciman, *Last Byzantine Renaissance*, 82.

and being. A ‘reconciliation’ between the theology of Palamas and Thomas does not seem to be possible.”⁴ Van Rossum later goes on to state, however, that “Gennadios Scholarios’ attempt to present Palamism in a scholastic manner completely distorts the theology of Palamas.”⁵ The difference between Palamas’s methodology and Thomas’s is that the former formulated doctrinal pronouncements only in response to grave theological crises, while the latter’s work is characterized by a spirit of exuberant curiosity attempting to explore every matter of faith, controverted or not, and articulate it with the greatest possible precision. This does not mean that Thomas rejected the apophatic, or that the words he may have spoken toward the end of his productive life that his works were “all straw” constituted a retrospective rejection of his life’s project. In some ways they were its consummation, since he believed God was infinite (*ST* 1, q.7), and, accordingly, there was no danger that his work would exhaust mankind’s knowledge of the Divinity. Thomas’s contrast of the apparent magnitude of human knowledge with its actual smallness compared to the divine infinitude could only, in the end, draw attention to the endless grandeur of God. Perhaps Aquinas the poet expresses this better than Aquinas the systematic theologian:

lauda, Sion, salvatorem,
 lauda ducem et pastorem
 in hymnis et canticis;
 quantum potes, tantum aude,
 quia major omni laude,
 nec laudare sufficis.⁶

Probably no one but Hopkins has succeeded in translating Aquinas’s verse into English without making the sublime seem ridiculous; but, unfortunately, he did not translate this piece, so I ask the reader’s indulgence:

Sing, O Zion, of the savior,
 Sing the leader and the pastor
 in hymns and canticles;
 Be bold to give your greatest praise,
 For he is greater than all praise,
 nor can you praise enough.

⁴ Joost Van Rossum, “Palamism and Church Tradition,” 51. A sympathetic study of Palamism from a Catholic perspective has been done by Jacques Lison, “La divinisation selon Grégoire Palamas.”

⁵ Van Rossum, “Palamism and Church Tradition,” 184.

⁶ Quoted in F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 405–6.

Aquinas here uses language to demonstrate its own inadequacy, so the apophatic was clearly present in his thought before the legendary silence of his last year.⁷ Raby is right to call him “a great medieval mystic,”⁸ and the observation that Aquinas was indeed an apophatic mystic, like Palamas himself, shows that it is incorrect to think of the clash between Thomism and Palamism as one between “Western Rationalism” and “Eastern Mysticism.” It is, rather, a disagreement between two types of Christian mysticism, both of which use reason to a certain extent to substantiate their claims but also recognize the ultimate inability of language to express divine reality.

It is impossible to say with objective certainty whether or not Van Rossum is right that Scholarios “completely distorts the image of Palamas.” Distortion is a matter of perspective. While Scholarios may have brought an element of Scholasticism into his discussion of Palamas by speaking of “formal” as opposed “real” distinctions, his intent was to clarify rather than in any way alter Palamas’s thought. Van Rossum’s perception of “distortion” in Scholarios’s reading of Palamas is due, once again, to the strong familiarity with and affinity for Western thought with which Scholarios reads, and even defends, Eastern theology. Scholastic terminology somehow gives his writings a Western feel even when the ideas they express are quite Orthodox. For instance, Vladimir Lossky attacked Scholarios’s use of a psychological analogy of the Trinity based on the essential oneness of mind, word, and spirit as a “trinitarian psychologism,”⁹ though Barbour has pointed out that Palamas uses this analogy as well.¹⁰ Lossky’s oversight shows how Orthodox critics are at times unduly eager to assume that anything systematic, or even rational, is not truly Orthodox.

One of the most frequently repeated observations on the differences between Orthodox and Western Christianity is that the latter, in both its Catholic and Protestant forms, is more legalistic, meaning that it focuses more on salvation as the reception of a divine verdict of “not guilty” allowing one to enter Heaven whereas Orthodoxy focuses more on deification—participation in God’s works, or energies, and transformation into his image and likeness. This observation is correct, but it is not directly related to the Palamite controversy. On the contrary, the Palamite distinction is some-

⁷ For an account of Aquinas’s inability to work during his last days, see James A. Weisheipl, O.P., *Friar Thomas D’Aquino*, 320–50.

⁸ Raby, *History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 414.

⁹ Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, 80.

¹⁰ Barbour, *Byzantine Thomism*, 107. See St. Gregory Palamas, *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, chaps. 35–37.

thing of an exception to the rule because the Orthodox Church qualifies the way in which deification is possible but the Catholic Church does not.

There are some areas in which Scholarios's Westernizing tendencies are undeniable, but these are less in matters of dogma than in matters of *phronema*, or "way of thinking," if I must try somehow to capture the sense of the Greek word in English. On the matters which East and West debated in Scholarios's time, Scholarios was too conscientious in his loyalty to the East to adopt a Westernizing stance; yet there were many issues of equal or even greater importance which it did not occur to either side to debate. Runciman expressed it well: "The real bar to union was that Eastern and Western Christendom felt differently about religion; and it is difficult to debate about feelings."¹¹ Like most scholars, though, Runciman failed to show that either side was even aware of many crucial differences (of feeling or otherwise) that divided them. East and West did not argue about the nature of sin, the Fall of Man, and the meaning of salvation, but they certainly felt differently about them; and Scholarios, probably due to his extensive reading of Western theology, felt like a Westerner on a number of these crucial issues. The significance of these differences between the two cultures is one which Orthodox scholars have only been articulating for about a century and a half, since the groundbreaking work of Alexei Khomiakov (1804–1860).

Study of Scholarios can help us better understand what went wrong in the ill-fated dialogues on Church Union. His work is also a potential source of rich material for the scholar of imperialism. Empire-building did not begin during the Enlightenment, and researchers interested in imperialism would do well to study the Byzantine Empire's complex relations with its many imperial and nonimperial neighbors. My research has led me to conclude that failure to examine broad cultural misunderstandings made it impossible for Scholarios and his contemporaries, Eastern as well as Western, to resolve more specific ideological disagreements. It is now widely acknowledged that the Orthodox and Catholic Churches hold different views on human nature, and it is hoped that the honest acknowledgment of differences will benefit relations between the two churches. If fourteenth-century theologians were aware that vastly different ideas on human nature separated the Byzantines from the Latins, it needs to be explained why they did not discuss such differences, which now figure prominently in virtually every modern comparative study of Eastern and Western Christianity. My own conclusion is that cultural animosity prevented the two sides from

¹¹ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, 85.

thoroughly examining the deeper differences that underlay specific doctrinal disagreements. It is hoped that Catholic–Orthodox relations will benefit from the now-prevailing honest acknowledgment of differences, even if these differences are now probably too firmly entrenched for union to take place. More generally speaking, the failure of the Council of Florence can serve as a reminder that dialogue between cultures must always consider specific issues not in isolation, but within the context of each culture as a whole. This is not to say that the Council would have succeeded even if both sides had fully understood each other. Mutual dislike may well have doomed the Union even if mutual misunderstanding had not rendered meaningful dialogue impossible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexiou, Margaret. *After Antiquity: Greek Language Myth and Metaphor*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Ambrose of Milan. *Opera Omnia di Sant' Ambrogio*, vol. 2/1. Edited by Paolo Siniscalco. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1984.
- Ambrosiaster. *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinus*. Edited by Heinrich Joseph Vogels. 3 vols. CSEL 81. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1968.
- . *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti CXXVII*. Edited by Alexander Souter. CSEL 50. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1908.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Angelikoudes, Kallistos. *Kata Akinatou* [Against Aquinas]. Edited by Stylianos Papadopoulos. Athens: Philekpaideutike Hetaireia, 1967.
- Angelou, Athanasios D. "“Who am I?” Scholarios’ Answer and the Hellenic Identity.” In *Phyllhellen: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, edited by Costas N. Constantinides, Nikolaos M. Panagiotakes, Elizabeth Jeffreys, and Athanasios D. Angelou, 1–19. Venice: Istituto Ellenico di studi Bizantini & Postbizantini di Venezia, 1996.
- Anonymous. “Pros Plēthona ē peri tēs biblou” [For Plethon; or, on the Book]. In *Plēthon, Traité des lois, ... augmenté d'un choix de pièces justificatives, ...*, edited by Charles Alexandre, 408–11. Paris, 1858. Reprint, Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1966.
- Anselm of Canterbury. *Cur Deus Homo*. Edited by Francis Salesius Schmitt, O.P. Munich: Kösel, 1986.
- Aristotle. *Politica*. Edited by David Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- . *Poetics*. Edited by D. W. Lukas. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- . *The Complete Works of Aristotle*. 2 vols. Ed. Jonathan Barnes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

- Athanasios of Alexandria. *St. Athanasios on the Incarnation: The Treatise De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*. Translated by Penelope Lawson. London: Mowbray, 1953.
- . *De Incarnatione*. Edited and translated by Robert W. Thomson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Athanassiadi, Polymnia. "Byzantine Commentators on the Chaldaean Oracles: Psellos and Plethon." In *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, edited by Katerina Ierodiakonou, 234–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Augustine of Hippo. *The City of God against the Pagans*. Edited and translated by R. W. Dyson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . *Confessions*. Edited by J. J. O'Donnell. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- . *De Genesi ad litteram*. Edited and translated by P. Agaesse and A. Solignac. 2 vols. *Œuvres de Saint Augustin* ser. 7. vols. 48–49. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1972.
- . *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*. Edited by C. F. Urbani and J. Zycha. CSEL 42. Vienna: Tempsky, 1902.
- . *De Trinitate Libri XV*. Edited by W. J. Mountain. 2 vols. *Corpus Christianorum* 50–50A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1968.
- . *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos tractatus*. PL 35:1977–2062.
- . *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de civitate Dei*. 2 vols. *Corpus Christianorum* 47–48. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955.
- Azkoul, Michael. *The Influence of Augustine of Hippo on the Orthodox Church*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edward Mellen, 1990.
- Barbour, Hugh Christopher. *The Byzantine Thomism of George Gennadios Scholarios and His Translation of Armandus de Bellovisu on the De Ente et Essentia of Thomas Aquinas*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1993.
- Basil of Caesarea. *Homélies sur l'Hexaemeron*. Edited by Stanislas Giet. Sources Chrétiennes 26. Paris: Cerf, 1968.
- Bessarion. "Bessarion Kardinalos to pros tou sophistou Plêthonos huiesi Dēmētriōi kai Andronikōi" [Cardinal Bessarion to the sons of the most wise Plethon, Demetrios and Andronikos]. In *Plêthon, Traité des lois, ... augmenté d'un choix de pièces justificatives ...*, edited by Charles Alexandre, 404–5. Paris, 1858. Reprint, Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1966.
- Blanchet, Marie-Hélène. "George Gennadios Scholarios: A-t-il été trois fois Patriarche de Constantinople?" *Byzantion* 71 (2001): 60–72.

- Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Brodsky, Joseph. *On Grief and Reason*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1995.
- Browning, Robert. "Teachers." In *The Byzantines*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo, 95–116. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Bulgakov, Sergei. *Sophia: The Wisdom of God*. Translated by Patrick Thompson, O. Fielding Clarke, and Xenia Braikevitc. New York: Paisley; London: Williams and Norgate, 1937. Reprint, Hudson, N.Y.: Lindisfarne, 1993.
- Cavallo, Guglielmo, ed. *The Byzantines*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Cavarnos, Constantine N. "Aristotle's Legacy in the Hellenic East." In *The Hellenist-Christian Philosophical Tradition*, 35–61. Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989.
- . *Orthodox Iconography*. Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1977.
- Chalkokondylas, Laonikos. *De origine ac rebus gestibus Turcorum*. Edited by E. Bekker. CSHB. Bonn: Weber, 1843.
- Chesterton, G. K. *St. Thomas Aquinas: The Dumb Ox*. Philadelphia: Sheed and Ward, 1933. Reprint, New York: Image, 1956.
- Choniates, Niketas. *Nicetae Choniatea Historiae*. Edited by Jan-Louis Van Dieten. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantium 11.1–2. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975.
- Chrysostom, John. *Sermons sur la Genèse*. Edited by Laurence Brottier. *Sources Chrétiennes* 433. Paris: Cerf, 1998.
- Clucas, Lowell. "The Triumph of Mysticism in Byzantium in the Fourteenth Century." *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* 4 (1985): 163–224.
- Constas, Nicholas. "'To Sleep Perchance to Dream:' The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2002): 91–124.
- Copleston, Frederick. *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 2: *Medieval Philosophy*. 1948. Reprint, New York: Image, 1993.
- . *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 3: *Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy*. 1963. Reprint, New York: Image, 1993.
- Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Cross, S. H., ed. and trans. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*. Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 60. Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953.

- Darrouzès, J. Review of *Gennadios B' Scholarios, Bios-Syngammata-Didaskalia*, by Theodoros Zeses. *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 39 (1981): 350–1.
- Dennis, George T. "Schism, Union, and the Crusades." In *Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, edited by Vladimir Goss, 181–87. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986.
- Deubner, Ludwig. *Attische Feste*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1932.
- Dodds, E. R., ed. *The Elements of Theology*, by Proclus. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- Doukas, Michael. *Historia Turco-Byzantina*. Edited by V. Grecu. Bucarest, 1948.
- Dvornik, Francis. "The Byzantine Church and the Immaculate Conception." In *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, edited by Edward Dennis O'Connor, 87–112. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958.
- . *The Photian Schism: History and Legend*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Euripides. *Euripidis Fabulae*. Edited by J. Diggle. Vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Eszer, A. "Giorgio-Gennadio Scholarios e S. Tommaso d'Aquino." In *Atti del IX Congresso Tomistico Internazionale* 6 (1992): 194–95. Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana.
- Faros, Philotheos. *Functional and Dysfunctional Christianity*. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998.
- Flores, Angel, ed. *Spanish Poetry: A Dual Language Anthology 16th–20th Centuries*. Translated by Kate Flores. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1988.
- Gaudel, A., and Jugie, M. "Péché originel." *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 12, fascicle 1 (1993): cols. 275–623.
- Ghikas, Emmanuel. "La définition de 1854: Cause de division ou de rapprochement." *Irenikon* 67 (1994): 345–351.
- Giannaras, Chrestos. *Orthodoxia kai dysē stē neoterē ellada* [Orthodoxy and the West in Modern Greece]. Athens: Ekdoseis Domos, 1992.
- Gill, Joseph. *Personalities of the Council of Florence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Gilson, Étienne. *Le thomisme: introduction à la philosophie de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1947.
- Gkiolas, Markos. *Ho Kosmas Aitolos kai hē epochē tou* [Kosmas Aitolos and his times]. Athens: Ekdosis Tymphrestos, 1972.
- Gregory the Great. *Dialogues*. Edited by A. de Vogüé, O.S.B. Sources Chrétiennes 251, 260, 265. Paris: Cerf, 1978–80.

- Gregory the Monk. "Monōdia tōi sophotatōi didaskalōi Georgiōi tōi Gemistōi" [Monody to the most learned master George Gemistos]. In *Pléthon, Traité des lois, ... augmenté d'un choix de pièces justificatives, ...*, edited by C. Alexandre, 387–403. 1858. Reprint, Amsterdam: A. M. Hakker, 1966.
- Gregory of Nazianzos. *Sermon 45*. PG 36.624–64.
- Gregory of Nyssa. *De Vita Moysis*. Edited by Herbert Mursurillo. Leiden: Brill, 1964.
- Guichardan, Sébastien. *Le problème de la simplicité divine en Orient et en Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Grégoire Palamas, Duns Scot, Georges Scholarios; Étude de théologie comparée*. Lyon: Legendre, 1933.
- Gunnar, H. *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und Europäische Politik, 1620–1638*. Wiesbaden, 1968.
- Herodotos. *Herodoti Historiae*. Edited by C. Hude. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Herzfeld, Michael. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.
- Hieronymous Charitonous. "Monōdia tōi sophotatōi didaskalōi Georgiōi tōi Gemistōi" (Monody for the most wise teacher, George Gemistos). In *Pléthon, Traité des lois, ... augmenté d'un choix de pièces justificatives, ...*, edited by Charles Alexandre, 375–86. 1858. Reprint, Amsterdam: A. M. Hakker, 1966.
- Hilary of Poitiers. *Liber de Synodis seu de fide Orientalium*. PL 10:479–546.
- Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours. *Carmina Minora*. Edited by A. Brian Scott. Leipzig: Teubner, 1969.
- Homer. *Homeri Opera*. Edited by David B. Monro and Thomas W. Allen. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Housley, N. *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Hugo Eteriano. *De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos devolvunt*. PL 202:227–396.
- Ierodiakonou, Katerina. "The Anti-Logical Movement in the Fourteenth Century." In *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, edited by Katerina Ierodiakonou, 157–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Ierodiakonou, Katerina, ed. *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Iorga, Nicolae. *Byzance après Byzance: Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine*. Bucarest: Institut d'études byzantines, 1935.
- Irenaeus of Lyons. *On the Apostolic Preaching*. Translated by John Behr. Crestwood, N.Y.: SVS Press, 1997.

- Iser, Wolfgang, and Sanford Budick, eds. *Languages of the Unsayable: The Play of Negativity in Literature and Literary Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Juan de la Cruz. *Poesía*. Edited by Domingo Ynduráin. Mexico City, D.F.: REI, 1988.
- Jugie, Martin. "Georges Scholarios et Saint Thomas D'Aquin." *Mélanges Mandonnet* 1 (1930): 423–40.
- . "Georges Scholarios, professeur de philosophie." *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1939): 482–94.
- . "La Polémique de Georges Scholarios contre Pléthon." *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 517–30.
- Julian of Norwich. *A Revelation of Love*. Edited by Marion Glasscoe. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993.
- Karamanolis, George. "Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle." In *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, edited by Katerina Ierodiakonou, 253–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Karmires, Ioannes, ed. *Ta dogmatika kai symbolika mnēmeia tēs Orthodoxou Katholikēs Ekklesiās* [The dogmatic and symbolic monuments of the Orthodox Catholic Church]. 2 vols. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1968.
- Kennedy, George A.. *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Kirk, Geoffrey S., trans. *The Bacchae*, by Euripides. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Kramer, Heinrich, and James Sprenger. *Malleus Maleficarum*. Edited by Andre Schnuyder. Göttingen: Kümmerle, 1993.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Thomisme et la pensée italienne de la Renaissance*. Montreal: Inst. d'Etudes Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1967.
- . *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- Kritoboulos. *Critobuli Imbriotae historiae*. Edited by Deiter R. Reinsch. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983.
- LaGarde, Bernadette. "Georges Gémiste Pléthon: *Contre les objections de Scholarios en faveur d'Aristote (Réplique)*." *Byzantion* 59 (1989): 354–65.
- Laurent, V. "Les premiers patriarches de Constantinople sous domination turque (1454–1476)." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 26 (1968): 229–63.
- Liddell, H. G., Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Lison, Jacques. "La divinisation selon Grégoire Palamas: Un sommet de la théologie orthodoxe." *Irenikon* 67 (1994): 59–70.

- Lossky, Vladimir. *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. London: J. Clarke, 1957.
- Lot-Borodine, Myrrha. "Le dogme de l'Immaculée Conception à la lumière de l'Église d'Orient." *Irenikon* 67 (1994): 328–44.
- Magdalino, Paul. *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1991.
- . *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*. London: Hambleton, 1992.
- Maguire, Henry. *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Mango, Cyril. "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 29–43.
- Mark Eugenikos of Ephesos. *Kephalai syllogistika pros latinous* [Sylogistic chapters against the Latins]. Edited by Louis Petit. PO 17 (1923), cols. 230–37.
- May, Herbert G., and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Revised Standard Version. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Metallinos, Fr. Georgios. Speech at the February 1995 Theological Conference in Pigos, Greece, Orthodox vs. European Civilization, 12 March 2001, <<http://w4u.eexi.gr/~antbos/ORTHEURO.HTM>>.
- Meyendorff, John. *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1979.
- Mouriki, Doula. "Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaelogan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism." In *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, edited by Cyril A. Mango and Omeljan Pritsak. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6 (1983): 458–88.
- . *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting*. London: Pindar Press, 1995.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Palamas, Gregory. *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*. Edited by Robert E. Sinkewicz. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988.
- Palmer, G. E. H., Phillip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware, eds. and trans. *The Philokalia*. Vol. 4. London: Faber and Faber, 1995.
- Papadakis, Aristides. "Gennadios II and Mehmet the Conqueror." *Byzantion* 42 (1972): 88–106.
- Papadeas, George, ed. *The Akathist Hymn*. Daytona Beach: Patmos Press, 1997.
- Papadopoulos, Stylianos. *Hellinikai metaphraseis thomistikōn ergōn* [Greek translations of Thomist works]. Athens: Philekpaideutike Hetaireia, 1967.

- . *Orthodoxos kai scholastikē theologia* [Orthodox and Scholastic theology]. Thessalonika: Patriarchikon Hydrima Paterikon Spoudon, 1970.
- Paparehagopoulos, Konstantinos. *Historia tou Hellēnikou ethnous* [History of the Greek nation]. Athens: S.K. Blastou, 1877.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 2: *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- . *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4: *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- . *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 5: *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- . *Jesus Through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- . *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Pharantos, Megas. “Hē theologia tou Gennadiou Scholariou” [The theology of Gennadios Scholarios]. Ph.D. diss., Athens University, 1969.
- Philo of Alexandria. *Questions and Answers on Genesis*. Edited by Ralph Marcus. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- Photios. *Bibliothèque*. Edited by R. Henry. 8 vols. Paris: Budé, 1959–77.
- . *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*. Edited and translated by Holy Transfiguration Monastery. Brookline, Mass.: Studion, 1983.
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vincianne. *L’Aphrodite grecque: Contribution à l’étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*. Athens: Centre International d’Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 1994.
- Plethon, George Gemistos. *Pléthon, Traité des lois, ou recueil des fragments; en partie inédits, de cet ouvrage, texte revu sur les manuscrits; précédé d’une notice historique et critique, et augmenté d’un choix de pièces justificatives, la plupart inédites*. Edited by Charles Alexandre. Paris, 1858. Reprint, Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1966.
- Podskalsky, Gerhard. “Die Rezeption der thomistischen Theologie bei Gennadios II. Scholarios.” *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974): 305–23.
- Quevedo, Francisco de. *Poesía original completa*. Edited by José Manuel Ble-cua. Barcelona: Planeta, 1996.
- Raby, F. J. E. *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.

- Renaudot, Eusèbe. *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*. 2 vols. 1716. Frankfurt am Main, 1847.
- . *De Gennadii Vita et Scriptis*. PG 160:249–312.
- Romanides, John. *To propatorikon hamartema* [Original sin]. 2nd ed. Domos: Athens, 1989.
- Romanos the Melode. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina*. Edited by P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Runciman, Steven. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- . *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- . *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Said, Edward W. *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*. London: Faber and Faber, 1986.
- . *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- Scholarios, George Gennadios. *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*. 8 vols. Edited by Louis Petit, Martin Jugie, and X. A. Siderides. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1928–36.
- Ševčenko, Ihor. “Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence.” *Church History* 24 (1955): 291–323.
- Sherrard, Philip. *The Greek East and the Latin West: A Study in the Christian Tradition*. Limni: Denise Harvey and Company, 1962.
- Sideras, Alexander. *Die Byzantinischen Grabreden: Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem Byzantinischen Jahrtausend*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994.
- Southern, R. W. *St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Smith, Malcolm. “Looking for Rome in Rome: Janus Vitalis and his Disciples.” *Revue de littérature comparée* 4 (1977): 510–27.
- Spentzas, Sabas. G. *Gemistos Plethon, ho philosophos tou Mystra: Hoi oikonomikes koinōnikes kai dēmosionomikes tou apopseis* [G. G. Plethon, the philosopher of Mistra: His economic, social, and financial views]. Introduction by C. M. Woodhouse. Athens: Ekdoseis M. Kardamitsa, 1987.

- Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Women." In *The Byzantines*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo, 117–43. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Termes Ros, Pablo. "La formación de Eva en los Padres Griegos hasta San Juan Crisóstomo inclusive." In *Miscellanea Bíblica B. Ubach*, ed. Romualdo Maria Diaz Carbonell, 31–48. Montserrat, 1954.
- . "La formación de Eva en los Padres Latinos hasta San Agustín inclusive." *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 34 (1960): 421–59.
- Thomas Aquinas. *Summa Theologiae*. 5 vols. Biblioteca de autores cristianos. Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1951–56.
- Treadgold, Warren. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Trypanis, C. A., ed. *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Tsirpanlis, Constantine N. *Mark Eugenikos and the Council of Florence*. New York: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1979.
- Turner, Christopher J. G. "The Career of George-Gennadios Scholarius." *Byzantion* 39 (1969): 420–55.
- . "Another Anti-Latin Work Attributed to Gennadius Scholarius." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973): 337–47.
- . "An Anomalous Episode in Relations between Scholarios and Plethon." *Byzantine Studies* 3 (1976): 56–63.
- Underhill, Evelyn. *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness*. New York: Dutton, 1911.
- Utley, Francis. *The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1944.
- Van Rossum, Joost. "Palamism and Church Tradition: Palamism, Its Uses of Patristic Tradition, and Its Relationship with Thomistic Thought." Ph.D. diss., Leiden University, 1985.
- Ware, Timothy. *The Orthodox Church*. 2nd ed. London: Penguin, 1993.
- . "The Way of the Ascetics: Negative or Affirmative?" In *Asceticism*, edited by Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, 3–15. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: Random House, 1976.
- Weisheipl, James A., O.P. *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974.
- Williams, A. N. *The Ground of Union: Deification in Aquinas and Palamas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Wilson, N. G. *Scholars of Byzantium*. London: Duckworth, 1983.

- Woodhouse, C. M. *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- . Introduction to *G. Gemistos Plēthon, ho philosophos tou Mystra: Hoi oikonomikes koinōnikes kai dēmosionomikes tou apopseis* [G. G. Plethon, the philosopher of Mistra: His economic, social, and financial views], by Sabas Spentzas, 8–12. Athens: Ekdoseis M. Kardamitsa, 1987.
- Zeses, Theodoros. *Gennadios B' Scholarios, Bios-Syngrammata-Didaskalia* [Gennadios II Scholarios: Life-writings-teaching]. Thessalonica: Patriarchikon Hidryma Paterikon Meleton, 1980.
- Zizioulas, John. "The Cappadocian Contribution." In *Trinitarian Theology Today: Essays on Divine Being and Act*, edited by Christoph Schwöbel, 44–60. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995.

INDEXES

INDEX OF REFERENCES TO SCHOLARIOS

1:10	44	3:148.....	97
1:13	55, 63	3:151.....	97
1:126.....	120	3:251–304	90
1:197–210.....	123	3:252.....	90
1:228.....	102	3:290–91.....	116
1:277–83.....	99	3:307.....	59
1:280.....	26	3:338–43.....	60
1:283–94.....	64, 90, 98	4:153.....	74
1:284.....	100	4:155.....	79
1:285.....	90, 110	4:157.....	80
1:287.....	92, 100, 101, 104, 117	4:199.....	60
1:289.....	103	4:203–4.....	76
1:290.....	88, 98, 103	4:211–31.....	25, 90
1:293.....	100	4:220.....	91
1:294.....	65	4:222.....	54
1:303.....	54	4:228.....	26
1:501.....	39	4:369.....	96
2:143.....	50	5.469–70.....	46
2:218.....	6	5:1	23, 25
2:227.....	4	6:1	123
3:78	126	6:98.....	58
3:136.....	96		

INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Genesis 2:21–22.....	47	1 Cor. 15:45.....	59
Luke 5:26	12	2 Cor. 12:7	63
Acts 17:16–34.....	12	2 Cor. 5:17	59
1 Cor. 1:18	11		

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Adam, 1, 5, 29, 33, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44,
45, 46, 47, 49, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60,
61, 62
- Akathist Hymn, 11, 12, 13, 139
- Alexander of Hale, 13
- Alexiou, Margaret, ix, 87, 132
- alienation, 68
- Allatius, Leo, 122
- ἁμαρτία, προγονική*, 41
- Ambrose of Milan, 61, 62, 63, 132
- Ambrosiaster, 45, 46, 47, 48, 132
- Anderson, Benedict, 73, 74, 116, 132
- Angelikoudes, Kallistos, 124, 132
- Angelou, Athanasios D., 90, 132
- Anselm, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 52, 125,
133
- anthropology, 2, 3, 4, 33, 39, 41, 60,
126
defined, 2
- antidora, 76
- apocatastasis, 17
- apophasy, 53, 124, 129, 130
- Arianism, 47, 53
- Aristotle, 8, 21, 24, 71, 72, 74, 93,
107, 111, 112, 113, 125, 133
- Arius, 29, 32
- Athanasios of Alexandria, 27, 28, 29,
30, 31, 32, 33, 52, 57, 61, 133
- Athanassiadi, Polynia, 86, 133
- atonement, 10, 28, 30, 32, 52
- Augustine, 10, 14, 17, 27, 34, 35, 36,
37, 39, 40, 42, 54, 55, 59, 60, 62,
63, 64, 67, 133
Confessions, 34
not known in Byzantium, 33
- Augustine, *Confessions*, 66
- Averroes, 21
- Azkoul, Michael, 33, 133
- baptism, infant, 60
- Barbour, Hugh Christopher, 21, 22,
23, 24, 72, 87, 88, 89, 122, 124,
128, 130, 133
- Barlaam of Calabria, 124, 125
- Barth, Karl, 13
- Basil the Great, 6, 57, 61
- Bessarion, 74, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89, 118,
134
- Blanchet, Marie-Hélène, 80, 134
- Bloom, Harold, 34, 134
- Bonaventure, 20
- book-form fate, 102, 103
- Boulgares, Eugenios, 89, 128
- Brodsky, Joseph, 98, 102, 103, 134
- Browning, Robert, 25, 134
- Budick, Sanford, 88, 137
- Bulgakov, Sergei, 67, 134
- Byzantios, 89
- Byzantium, legacy of, 87, 89, 93
- Callistus III, 25
- Calvinism, 65, 121
- Caryophilus, 122
- cataphasy, 53, 124, 125
- Cavallo, Guglielmo, 65, 66, 67, 68,
134
- Cavarnos, Constantine N., 13, 21,
134
- celibacy, 64
- Chalkokondylas, Laonikos, 99, 134
- Charles V, 110
- Chesterton, G. K., 34, 134
- Choniates, Niketas, 3, 134
- Christianos, 90
- Clucas, Lowell, 124, 134
- communitarianism, 67, 68
- community, 72, 92
- concupiscentia*, 33, 64
- Constantine XI, 103, 125
- Constas, Nicholas, ix, 33, 85, 135
- Copleston, Frederick, S.J., 15, 20,
135
- Cosimo de' Medici, 84
- Council of Ephesus, 40
- Council of Florence, 1, 2, 3, 9, 14,
15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 74, 75, 81, 84,

- 86, 97, 119, 125, 132
 Council of Lyon, 2nd, 14
 Council of Toledo, 36
 Council of Trent, 15
 Council of Vienne, 118
 Counter-Reformation, 120
 Cross, F. L., 12, 13, 32, 120, 135
 Cross, S. H., 11, 135
 Darrouzès, J., 19, 122, 135
 deification, 30, 32, 69, 124, 130
 Demetrios, 80
 Dennis, George T., 3, 135
 Deubner, Ludwig, 115, 135
 Digenes Akrites, 68, 69
 Dodds, E. R., 74, 135
 Doukas, Michael, 99, 135
δουλεία, 46
δοῦλος, 46
 Duns Scotus, 4, 7, 20, 42
 Dvornik, Francis, 4, 10, 36, 135
 East, defined, 6
 Eckhart, Meister, 67, 69
 ecphrasis, 104, 108
 Eden, 60
ἐκκληρώσατο, 41
 election, 65
 energies, God's, 37, 69, 85, 123, 124, 128, 130
 Enlightenment, 111, 119, 127, 131
ἐνοχή, προγονική, 41
 essence, God's, 37, *See* energies, God's
 Eszer, A., 122, 135
 Eucharist, 76, 120
 Euclid, 125
εὐλογον, 28
 Euripides, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 135
 Eve, 43–47, 47, 49, 55–63
 evolution, 47
 exile, 7, 98, 102, 103
 fall of Constantinople, 1, 23, 54, 75, 78, 87, 91, 95, 98, 99, 111, 119
 Fall of Man, 55–65, 63, 131
 Faros, Philotheos, 126, 135
 Ficino, Marsilio, 88
filioque, 36, 37, 38, 49, 125, *See also*
 Procession of the Holy Spirit
 fire, purifying, 17
 Francis of Assisi, 20
 funeral oration, genre of, 98–101
 Gaudel, A., 33, 135
genos, 72
 George of Trebizond, 89
 Ghikas, Emmanuel, 5, 136
 Giannaras, Chrestos, 9, 20, 136
 Gill, Joseph, 15, 16, 17, 25, 50, 121, 122, 136
 Gkiolas, Markos, 72, 74, 136
 Gregoras, Nikephoros, 125
 Gregory of Nazianzos, 6, 51, 53, 136
 Gregory of Nyssa, 17, 53, 61, 136
 Gregory of Rimini, 60
 Gregory Palamas, 37, 74, 78, 85, 130
 Gregory the Great, 17, 136
 Gregory the Monk, 51, 81, 82, 136
 Gregory the Theologian, *see* Gregory of Nazianzos
 Gruenewald, Mathias, 13
 Guichardan, Sébastien, 7, 136
 Gunnar, H., 121, 136
 Hellene, 82, 89, 91
 Herodotos, 111, 112, 113, 114, 136
 Herzfeld, Michael, 73, 74, 99, 136
 Hieronymous Charitononymous, 82, 136
 Hilary of Poitiers, 48, 136
 Hildebert, 136
 Hildebert of Lavardin, 109
 Hinduism, 86
 Homer, 112, 113, 136
 Homeric hymns, 113
 Housley, N., 25, 137
 Hugo Eteriano, 49, 137
 hymnography, 10, 100
 Ierodiakonou, Katerina, 87, 88, 125, 137
 Ignatius of Loyola, 93

- Immaculate Conception, 4, 7, 9, 10,
20, 39, 41, 59, 123
imperialism, 97, 126, 131
individual and society, 65
individualism, 33, 34, 38, 62, 66, 67,
68, 127
Iorga, Nicolae, 88, 137
Ioudaioi, 90
Irenaeus of Lyons, 58, 137
Isaac, 53
Iser, Wolfgang, 88, 137
Isidore of Kiev, 89
Islam, 19, 22, 78, 89
ἰσοτιμία, 45
ἰσοτιμίαν, 46
Jesus Christ, 12, 13, 33, 58, 59, 77,
84, 100, 116, 117, 139
Annunciation, 41, 44, 47, 58
Crucifixion, 13, 32
Incarnation, 27, 28, 30, 39
Virgin Birth, 12
John Chrysostom, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47,
55, 56, 57, 63, 134
John of the Cross, 35, 36, 137
John VIII Palaiologos, 103
Joseph the Hymnographer, 10
Judaism, 22, 89, 91
Jugie, Martin, 4, 6, 8, 19, 33, 41, 47,
65, 71, 79, 80, 87, 120, 123, 124,
135, 137
Julian of Norwich, 12, 13, 137
Julian the Apostate, 82
justice and mercy, 54
justification, 17, 32
Justification by Faith, 64
καινοτομία, 127
Karamanolis, George, 8, 71, 74, 93,
137
Karmires, Ioannes, 19, 121, 137
Kennedy, George A., 104, 137
Khomiakov, Alexis, 16, 131
Kirk, Geoffrey S., 114, 137
κλήρος, 41
Kristeller, Paul Oskar, 80, 81, 86,
138
Kritoboulos, 99, 138
Kydones, Demetrios, 14, 24
LaGarde, Bernadette, 6, 138
Land und Volk, 92
Latinos, 89
Laurent, V., 80, 138
Lawson, Penelope, 28, 31
letters, 61
Lison, Jacques, 129, 138
Livingstone, E. A., 120, 135
logic, 21, 22, 46, 51, 84, 124
Lossky, Vladimir, 130, 138
Lot-Borodine, Myrrha, 5, 138
Loukas Notaras, 7, 26, 95, 96, 117
Luther, Martin, 16, 34, 53, 64
Macrides, Ruth, 107
Magdalino, Paul, 73, 109, 138
Maguire, Henry, 13, 138
Malleus Maleficarum, 63, 137
Mango, Cyril, 73, 77, 138
Mark Eugenikos, 17, 33, 39, 42, 49,
50, 51, 125, 138
Mark of Ephesos, *see* Mark
Eugenikos
Mary, ix, 4, 5, 10, 58, 59, 63, 139
Maximos Sophianos, 75, 77
Mehmet II (the Conqueror), 1, 22,
25, 78, 87, 93, 119
memory, 103
mercy and justice, 54
Metallinos, Georgios, 126, 138
μετουσίωσις, 121
Meyendorff, John, 1, 2, 4, 21, 32, 77,
117, 138
Michael Choniates, 106, 107, 108,
110
millet, 72, 93
mimesis, 107
Mistra, 78, 79, 80, 87
monarchy, 38, 52, 67
Moses, 49, 117
Mouriki, Doula, 79, 138
nation, 72

- negritude, 126
 neo-Platonism, 74, 78
 Nestorianism, 6, 40, 41
 Nicene Creed, 36
 Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain, 93
 Nicol, Donald M., 14, 139
 Niketas Choniates, 3
obnoxia, 46
oikonomia, 76, 93
ὁμογενεῖς, 65
ὁμότιμος, 45, 56
ὅρα πῶς, 45
 Orientalism, 7, 95, 111, 112, 118
 Origen, 17, 52, 74
 Original Sin, 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 28, 31, 33, 39, 40, 42, 56, 59, 64
οὐκ εἶπε, 45
οὐχ ἀπλῶς, 45
 paganism, 22, 72, 73, 74, 78, 81, 82, 85, 89
 Palamas, Gregory, 139
 Palamism, 19, 95, 124, 128, 130
 Palamite controversy, 6, 124, 130
 Palamite distinction, 37, 69, 88, 124, 128, 130
 Papadakis, Aristides, 25, 139
 Papadopoulos, Stylianos, 19, 124, 132, 139
 Paparhagopoulos, Konstantinos, 74, 139
 Paschal Hymn, 12
 Pelikan, Jaroslav, 2, 4, 16, 19, 33, 59, 65, 89, 128, 139
 Pericles, 73, 74
 periodization of history, 95
 perseverance of the saints, 65
 Petit, Louis, 4, 6, 19, 65
 Petrarch, 69
 Pharantos, M., 19, 20, 139
 Philo of Alexandria, 43, 139
 Photios, 2, 4, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 139
phronema, 131
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, 88
 Pirenne-Delforge, Vincianne, 115, 140
 Pius II, 25
 Pius IX, 4
 Planoudes, Maximos, 14, 118
 Plato, 21, 71, 72, 74, 83, 84, 93
 Plethon, George Gemistos, 6, 7, 8, 22, 47, 71–94, 95, 140, 141
 Plotinus, 86
 Podskalsky, Gerhard, 14, 140
 Porphyry, 82
 postmodernism, 88
πράγματα, 69
 predestination, 64
 Procession of the Holy Spirit, 84
 Proclus, 74, 86
 Prodromos, 1
 Protestantism, 64, 121
 Purgatory, 5, 17, 33
 Quevedo, Francisco de, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 140
 Raby, F. J. E., 129, 130, 140
 redemption, 38, 52
 Reformation, 16, 27, 32, 65, 139
 Reformed Church, 65
 Renaissance, 15, 16, 34, 78, 84, 87, 88, 119, 135, 140
 Renaudot, Eusèbe, 120, 121, 122, 140
Romaïos, 90
 Roman Empire, 75, 90
 Romanides, John, 28, 140
 Romanos the Melode, 59
Romios, 90
 Runciman, Steven, 87, 89, 119, 121, 128, 131, 140
 Said, Edward, 111, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 140
 salvation, 12, 17, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 52, 64, 65, 66, 68, 130, 131
 salvation history, 58, 116, 117
 Satan, 52
 Scholasticism, 15, 16, 18, 19, 60, 71, 76, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 128,

- 130
 Scupoli, Lorenzo, 93
 self and society, 65
serviliter subiecta, 47
 Seth, 47, 48, 49
 Ševčenko, Ihor, 26, 140
 Sherrard, Philip, 38, 66, 140
 Siderides, X. A., 4, 6, 19, 65
 sin, 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 28, 39, 40, 41, 43,
 52, 57, 58, 61, 64, 131
 sexual, 60
 Smith, Malcolm, 109, 141
 Socrates, 73, 74, 88
 Sophianos, Theodore, 25, 99
 Southern, R. W., 32, 52, 112, 118,
 141
 Spentzas, Sabas, 78, 87, 141
 Stations of the Cross, 13
subiecta, 46
subiectio, 46
 Symeon the New Theologian, 66
 Synesios of Cyrene, 96
syngenes, 82
 Synod of Dort, 65
 Talbot, Alice-Mary, 58, 59, 141
 Termes Ros, Pablo, 47, 141
 Theodora, 80
 Theodora of the Peloponnese, 79
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 39, 40
 theology, ix, 1, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15, 24,
 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 40, 42,
 51, 60, 63, 64, 67, 79, 86, 88, 121,
 122, 123, 124, 128, 130, 131, 139
 defined, 2
 Thettalos, 89
 Thomas Aquinas, xi, 1, 4, 14, 20, 21,
 22, 24, 25, 43, 46, 47, 53, 54, 56,
 58, 69, 74, 93, 119, 123, 128, 129,
 133, 141
 Thomism, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,
 57, 93, 95, 123, 124, 128, 130, 133
 Thomson, Robert W., 28, 29, 133
 τομεύς, 96, 103
 Transubstantiation, 120
 Treadgold, Warren, 58, 127, 141
 Trebizond, 87
 Trinity, 23, 30, 36, 37, 38, 47, 67, 85,
 130
 Trypanis, C. A., 106, 141
 Tsirpanlis, Constantine, 21, 141
 Turner, Christopher J. G., 60, 85, 93,
 141
 Underhill, Evelyn, 35, 141
 Uniates, 15
 Union, 1, 2, 3, 5, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22,
 50, 81, 95, 96, 97, 111, 118, 120,
 122, 131, 132
 ὑποπεπτωκός, 46
 Utley, Francis, 63, 141
 Van Rossum, Joost, 128, 129, 130,
 142
 visual arts, 5, 13
 Vitalis, Janus, 109, 110
 Vladimir the Great, 11
 Ware, Kallistos, 68
 Ware, Timothy, 2, 11, 13, 16, 19, 32,
 37, 66, 93, 142
 Warner, Marina, 63, 142
 Weisheipl, James A., O.P., 130, 142
 West, defined, 6
 Williams, A. N., 124, 142
 Wilson, N. G., 118, 142
 Woodhouse, C. M., 6, 74, 78, 81, 82,
 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 122, 142
 Zeses, Theodoros, 19, 24, 25, 122,
 123, 142
 Zizioulas, John, 66, 67, 69, 142
 Zwingli, Ulrich, 59